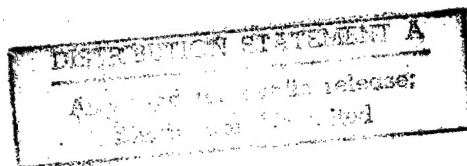


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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2214

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14 October 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRATISLAVA CPSL DELEGATION VISITS KIEV

Leaves 18 September

LD181533 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 18 Sep 83

[Text] A delegation of the city committee of the CPSL in Bratislava led by Gejza Slapka, member of the Central Committee of the CPSL and chief secretary of the city committee of the CPSL in Bratislava, left for Kiev today. The delegation will attend the Days of Bratislava in Kiev which are yet another opportunity for the exchange of experiences in cooperation between the two cities. Citizens of Kiev will acquaint themselves with the life and work of citizens of Bratislava, the activity of social organizations of the National Front and the development of culture in this city.

Delegation Meets Kiev Counterparts

LD192333 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 19 Sep 83

[Text] A delegation of the Bratislava Communist Party Committee, led by Gejza Slapka, Presidium member of the CPSL Central Committee and leading secretary of the Bratislava Communist Party Committee met today in Kiev at the "Days of Bratislava" with the delegation of the Kiev Gorkom, led by Yuriy Yelchenko, politburo member of CP of Ukraine and first secretary of the Kiev Gorkom. The delegations exchanged information on topical issues and exchanged views on forms of ideological work. They paid particular attention to increasing the speed of scientific and technical advancement.

CSO: 2400/13

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

BILAK, FOJTIK RETURN FROM MOSCOW--Comrades Vasil Bilak and Jan Fojtik, who attended a Moscow meeting of the secretaries of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries for international and ideological questions, returned to Prague today. At Ruzyne Airport, they were welcomed by Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. [Text] [LD212016 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 21 Sep 83]

CSO: 2400/13

CPCZ, GOVERNMENT ENDORSE MADRID MEETING RESULTS

AU271433 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Sep 83 p 1

["Z" signed report]

[Text] Prague, 23 Sep--On 23 September 1983, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government discussed the results of the Madrid meeting of states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and endorsed the course taken by the Czechoslovak delegation, which was led at the closing session by Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs.

They welcomed the fact that the Madrid meeting ended successfully, with the adoption of a comprehensive and balanced document that stipulates a continuation of the policy of peace, detente, East-West dialogue, and the promotion of all-round cooperation on the basis of peaceful coexistence. The most important conclusion of the meeting is that it convened a conference on measures strengthening confidence and security and on disarmament in Europe. This conference should ensure that the policy of detente is extended from the political to the military sphere.

The relevant Czechoslovak bodies have been charged with implementing the provisions of the resulting document of the Madrid meeting, which proceeds from the final act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, in accordance with the CSSR's legislation.

CSO: 2400/11

POPE'S VISIT 'SPLIT' AUSTRIAN SECURITY

AU 151303 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Sep 83 p 7

[Bedrich Zagar commentary in the "Foreign-Political Note" column: "A Visit Which Splits The Society"]

[Text] The visit of Pope John Paul II has evoked disputes and contradictions in Austria itself. Already the public opinion pool on his visit, carried out by the extreme rightwing daily tabloid KURIER, showed that the public has contradictory opinions on this visit, and that not everything is as smooth as the Austrian television is striving to present it: only 11 percent of those asked said that they wish to see the Pope. Almost 50 percent--precisely 46 percent--of the statements spoke about the hullabaloo around the visit "getting on their nerves"; and 56 percent of all the people asked were of the opinion that the money spent on the visit could have been put to better use, for instance for helping the poor. For the strongly Catholic Austria, the result of the poll is remarkable.

In times of a deep economic crisis, does Austria need useless expenditures to the tune of more than 100 million Austrian schillings? And this is by far not the final amount; the exact figures will never become known to the Austrian public anyway. Could not these financial means have been put to better use, for instance for ensuring new jobs for the constantly growing army of Austrian unemployment, or for assisting pensioners and other citizens living in poverty and privation? While the pope was placing "hopes into the cross" in the Vienna stadium on Saturday night, hundreds of people in the developing countries were dying of hunger. The visit will soon end, and the harsh reality will return. The Austrian government has already prepared measures which are intended to help weaken the impact of the economic crisis: savings accounts will be taxed and the value added tax will be raised--this means, that all prices will automatically soar; and other burdens will also be introduced which will affect the population's living standards.

The Austrian progressive youth, which openly opposed the pope's visit, also does not like that the Vatican is consoling poor people with promises of a "happiness in a posthumous life," while at the same time not providing an example: apart from other properties, the Vatican owns shares to the amount of \$10 billion. Poor people cannot rely on the Vatican anywhere in the world, and not in Austria; because the Vatican is standing on the side of the rich.

Not only the youth, but also the broad masses of working people can find no solution for the pressing problems in real life--like the elimination of the danger of war and the ensurance of a satisfied life for all social strata--in the pope's abstractionism. Only that state is social, which also takes care of the lowest strata. In this respect the pope's visit was no contribution; it split [rozzdelila] society, rather than unified it.

CSO: 2400/11

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

VISITING FINNISH PARLIAMENTARIANS--A delegation of the parliamentary group of the Finnish People's Democratic League led by its chairman, Veikko Olavi Saarto, arrived in the CSSR on Monday. In Prague, it will hold talks with representatives of the Club of Communist Deputies to the CSSR Federal Assembly. [Excerpt] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Sep 83 p 2 AU]

INTERIOR MINISTER ELECTED DEPUTY--In a by-election to the People's Chamber of the CSSR Federal Assembly for the constituency No 66, held in Teplice District on 2 September, the National Front candidate Vratislav Vajnar was elected deputy to the People's Chamber of the CSSR Federal Assembly. He received 44,955 votes, 99.96 percent of all valid votes. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Sep 83 p 2 AU]

AID SHIPMENT TO AFGHANISTAN--A shipment of material aid that was sent to Afghanistan by Czechoslovak social organizations has been taken over in Kabul by representatives of the Central Committee of the Afghan National Patriotic Front. The shipment includes Kcs200,000 worth of, primarily, childwear and medication. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Sep 83 p 7 AU]

PEACE DELEGATION TO FRG--A delegation of the Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters, led by its deputy chairman, Col Gen Frantisek Sadek, departed on Monday for the FRG. With the Presidium of the Association of the Victims of Nazism--Union of Anti-Fascists, it will discuss a further joint course of action in the struggle against fascism and for preserving peace, following up on the conclusions of the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Sep 83 p 2 AU]

TU COUNCIL ANNUAL ACTIVITY PLAN--Today's plenary session of the Central Council of Trade Unions approved a plan for activity of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement for the coming year, which stresses the joint responsibility of trade unions for the further development of socialist society. The plan for activity stresses the need to increase the share of products of--first-quality grade, technologically progressive products and to reduce production costs against the plan. Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council Trade Unions, stressed in his winding up speech that the whole course of the plenary session confirmed the topicality and urgency of the problems under discussion. He commended the businesslike, critical and constructive nature of the speeches made during the debate. [Text] [LD151347 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 15 Sep 83]

CHNOUPEK RECEIVES OUTGOING U.S. AMBASSADOR--Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, received in Prague today the U.S. extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador in Czechoslovakia, Jack Foust Matlock, in connection with the end of his diplomatic mission. During the talks, they discussed the current state of bilateral relations and issues concerning the situation in the world. [Text] [LD160217 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 15 Sep 83]

NATIONAL COUNCIL PRESIDIUUM CONFERS--The Czech National Council Presidium, at its Tuesday session, which was chaired by Josef Kempny, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Czech National Council, discussed the proposal of the Government of the Czech Socialist Republic [CSR] for the Jan Sverma Award in 1983. The proposal was submitted by Josef Korcak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSR premier. Honorary recognitions will be solemnly presented on Monday, 19 September 1983. In the next part of the session, Zdenek Krc, CSR deputy premier and chairman of the Czech Planning Commission, briefed it on the fulfillment of the Seventh 5-Year Plan and the preparation of the state plan for 1984. The presidium then dealt, among other things, with the supplies of fuels and power to the population. In keeping with Article 104 of the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation, the Presidium decided to convene the Czech National Council on 1 October 1983. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Sep 83 p 2]

CSO: 2400/11



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ABRASIMOV REVIEWS CPSU-SED RELATIONS PRIOR TO DEPARTURE

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 5, May 83 (signed to press 14 Apr 83)  
pp 436-445

[Article by Piotr Abrasimov, member, CPSU Central Committee, (former) USSR ambassador to the GDR: "Fraternal Relations Between the CPSU and the SED--Nucleus of Cooperation Between Our People"]

[Text] (Summary) The fraternal alliance of the communists in the USSR and the GDR is based on our common struggle in history and at the present, the friendship between their peoples, and the permanent collaboration between the CPSU and the SED, governed by deep understanding, trust and agreement. Meetings between the general secretaries of both parties' central committees and meetings on all levels make for detailed exchange of views and lend new impulses to our collaboration. Relations are becoming increasingly more effective, new forms are engendered, the problems in the continued advance toward socialism/communism are resolved jointly, and the fraternal alliance is reinforced.

There have always been constant and mutual relations between the Russian and German workers movement. Without Marx, Engels and Lenin, without Marxism-Leninism, there would have been no October Revolution, and without it, there would be no socialist GDR. This revolutionary bond simply is one of the backbones, created by history itself, of the indestructible friendship between our peoples, a mighty source of their strength. The founders of scientific communism were closely linked with the Russian revolutionary liberation movement, and V. I. Lenin, with the struggle of the revolutionary German proletariat. Marxism, originating in Germany, found its widest dissemination in Russia and was, in application to the new era, further developed in every way by V. I. Lenin.

Lenin's party received the great mission to prepare and conduct the first victorious socialist revolution in history, to combine the theory of scientific socialism with the practical acts of the people's masses, and to organize the construction of a new society, free from exploitation. The world historic outcome of the activity of the CPSU and of the Soviet people in giving life to the Marxist-Leninist ideas is the construction of developed socialism in the USSR.

The KPD, which arose at the turn of the year 1918/19, completely appropriated Marxism-Leninism as the revolutionary theory of the present time and proved a reliable ally of the CPSU and an ardent defender of the first socialist state against the intervention and attacks by the world bourgeoisie. The great leader of the German proletariat, Ernst Thaelmann, was an impassioned internationalist who educated the party in terms of its inseparable union with the Soviet communists, with the USSR. After German fascism was crushed, in which the Soviet Union played the crucial role, the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party of the German workers class, the SED, relying on the fraternal aid and rich experiences of the CPSU, became the leading force in the democratic transformation and, later, in socialist construction and proved the genuine continuer of the cause of the Great October on German soil.

The militant alliance between the communists in the USSR and the GDR, based on the principle of socialist internationalism, on their joint communist ideology and on identical goals, is embodied today in the multifaceted and solid relations between the CPSU and the SED, the nucleus of the fraternal collaboration between our peoples. CPSU-SED relations virtually include all sectors of public life, all matters of socialist and communist construction and of the international situation, and they exist on the central level as well as on that of local party organs.

#### Allies--Comrades in Arms--Friends

The CPSU Central Committee status report to the 26th party congress observes that the conformity of views, in principle, on all important problems of socio-economic development and of international politics has been consolidated among the countries in the socialist community. This unity is "the outcome of the constant collaboration among the fraternal communist parties." "Deep mutual understanding, trust and agreement"<sup>1</sup> govern the leaderships of the fraternal parties. The 10th SED Congress has paid high tribute to the fraternal alliance between the GDR and the USSR. It praised the fact that the relations between the socialist German state and the Soviet Union have deepened in all areas as the result of SED and CPSU policy and remarked: "The peoples of the Soviet Union and of the GDR have indeed become allies, comrades in arms and friends."<sup>2</sup>

Typical of the current stage in the development of CPSU-SED relations have been and are regular meetings between the central committee general secretaries and secretaries as well as on the level of central committee departments, regional party organs and party organizations of enterprises and institutions. Of fundamental importance for the development and deepening of relations between the parties have been the traditional meetings of the general secretaries of the CPSU and the SED central committees. There were three such meetings in 1982 and 1983--one on the Crimea, two in Moscow. Meetings on the highest level always have lent new impulses to the development of all-round collaboration between the SED and the CPSU: Along with ongoing international issues, one is discussing there the prospects of economic specialization and cooperation between both countries for many years to come. It attests to the high reputation of the CPSU, to the great respect the SED has for it, that the SED Central Committee delegation is always headed by its general secretary, Erich Honecker.

An important event in the history of CPSU-SED relations and the relations between the two states was the GDR visit by a Soviet party and government delegation on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the republic. The negotiations and talks made evident the complete conformity in views in all questions discussed. SED experiences were marked as "a valuable contribution to the theory and practice of socialist construction" in the joint communique. That document stated that the Soviet people to a decisive degree contributed to the consolidation of real socialism and to heightening its influence on the course of world events. "The CPSU's consistent internationalist policy plays an outstanding role," the joint communique says, "in safeguarding peace and consolidating the community of socialist states and contributes to new successes in the peoples' struggle for their national and social liberation."<sup>3</sup>

In 1982 and 1983, the SED Central Committee Politburo members W. Stoph, H. Sindermann, G. Mittag, E. Mueckenberger, and H. Tisch and the SED Central Committee Politburo candidates G. Kleiber, G. Schuerer, E. Krenz and G. Schabowski went to Moscow to exchange work experiences and discuss various substantive matters. In January 1983 a meeting was held in Berlin between the GDR leadership and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR minister of foreign affairs, A. A. Gromyko.

In the GDR, 1983 has been declared a Karl Marx Year. In this context, the SED is performing an enormous political mass activity and is mobilizing the working people for the fulfilment of the current tasks as well as the study of the immortal works of the founders of scientific communism. Many events devoted to Karl Marx are being sponsored in the Soviet Union. There was an international Karl Marx conference in Berlin. It was attended by CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU oblast committee G. V. Romanov, the CPSU Central Committee secretaries M. V. Zimyanin and K. V. Rusakov, and the CPSU Central Committee members V. V. Zagladin and A. G. Yegorov.

In April 1983, a Soviet military delegation headed by CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and minister for the defense of the USSR, Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov, was in the GDR. Systematically conducted are meetings of the central committee secretaries of the two fraternal parties for ideological and international affairs (the most recent meeting of that kind took place in February 1983), and of the central committee secretaries for party and organizational matters. There the new high demands were conferred on which are placed on the work of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties.

#### Ideological Cooperation at a High Place Value

In the cooperation of the CPSU with the SED and other ruling Marxist-Leninist parties, ideological collaboration plays an ever increasing role. It becomes more profound year after year and is being enriched by new forms. Multilateral meetings with CPSU and SED central committee representatives in constant attendance stimulated the exchange of experiences in ideological-educational work and in scientific activity and lent new impulses to the various relations and the cooperation among the ideological institutions of the fraternal parties.

The attendants at the Moscow conference of the secretaries for international and ideological matters of the central committees of the communist and workers parties in the socialist countries conducted a thorough exchange of opinions on 14 and 15 March 1983 on topical tasks in political, ideological and propaganda work.\* The focal point there were matters that relate to the development of the international situation, the explanation and realization of the ideas of the Prague conference of the Political Advisory Commission of the Warsaw Pact states on 4 and 5 January 1983, and other proposals from the socialist countries aimed at the consolidation of peace and international security. There was a friendship meeting on 15 March 1983 between Y. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the participants of the conference. In the spring of 1982, a conference of the secretaries for party and organizational questions of the central committees of the communist and workers parties in socialist countries was conducted in Prague in which CPSU and SED central committee representatives took an active part. One may also mention the attendance of both parties at the multilateral central committee department chiefs' meetings in March and May 1982 in Prague (at the first one, the fraternal parties were represented by the chiefs of the propaganda, mass media and international information departments, at the second, by the chiefs of the departments dealing with cultural matters).

Constant bilateral relations on the level of the chiefs of the various central committee departments have become an important element of the collaboration of our two parties, of CPSU and SED foreign policy activity. In accordance with the plan for relations between the two parties, CPSU delegations headed by the deputy chief of the science and university affairs department, R. G. Yanovski, were in the GDR in 1982, familiarizing themselves with the experiences in SED efforts in developing the social sciences and enhancing their role in the teaching process; by the first deputy chief of the machine building department, A. I. Volski, studying the introduction of new science and technology data in machine building; by the chief of the construction department, Y. N. Dmitriev, gathering information about the experiences of party management work in industrial and housing construction; by the first secretary of the CPSU Kursk oblast committee, A. F. Gudkov, studying the ways of intensification and efficiency improvements in agricultural production. In the same year, in order to study CPSU work experiences in metallurgy and enhanced raw material refining, in the modernization of the light industry and of public health and so forth, SED Central Committee delegations came to the USSR, headed by G. Tautenhahn, SED Central Committee member and head of the machine building and metallurgy department, and by H.-J. Ruescher, head of the department of the light industry, the foodstuffs industry, and the regionally managed industry.

Of special importance is the ideological cooperation between the CPSU and the SED. That is extremely extensive, and its spectrum is multicolored. Under that aspect the cooperation between the CPSU Central Committee organ, KOMMUNIST, and the SED Central Committee journal, EINHEIT, also has accomplished much. The publishing of articles in these journals by leading functionaries in our parties is the outcome of concrete objective cooperation between the editorial boards, partly also in the form of reciprocal visits within the scope of the parties' exchange of delegations and experiences.

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\*The previous conference of this kind was held in Moscow in November 1981.

Scientists of the two countries have published many joint studies in philosophy, the political economy, and on economic and social problems in socialist and capitalist countries. That of course helps raise the scientific level of ideological and propaganda work in both parties.

Found suitable also as an effective form of CPSU-SED collaboration is the annual exchange of lecturers (ten from either country) specialized in topical domestic and foreign policy themes. This exchange helps deepen experiences in party work reciprocally and disseminate knowledge about CPSU and SED activities. A positive sign in the appearance of Soviet lecturers has been that they normally know how to combine reports about the development of one or another region in our country with the results in the development of the Soviet multinational state as such.

The CPSU and the SED have boosted their efforts in developing the consciousness of the working people and propagating the accomplishments of socialism on the basis of action plans that are systematically being rendered more precise. They pay much attention to aggressive operations in the fight against the anti-communist ideology in all its forms and manifestations. Lately there has been more intensive exchange of experiences in ensuring the effectiveness of agit-prop, the cooperation among mass media, publishing houses and science institutions, and in other fields of ideological work.

In deepening their cooperation in theoretical-ideological work, both parties focus their attention on jointly treating topical questions of theory and of the history and practice of Marxism-Leninism. They attach great importance to the experience exchange and collaboration of the science institutions, the cooperation of the social scientists, who do joint research and put out publications together. From 1975 to 1983 as many as 18 volumes of the Complete Collected Works of Marx-Engels (MEGA), started on the decision from the SED and CPSU central committees, have been published. The joint commissions of GDR and USSR historians, philosophers and economic scientists are doing fruitful work. They are exploring the problems of the shaping of the developed socialist society, of management and planning in socialism, of combining the advantages of the new society with the accomplishments of the scientific-technical revolution and a whole number of other important problems.

#### Close Relations of Local Party Organs

Ties are developing actively on the level of the local party organs. On the basis of correlated plans or mutual agreements, the union republics and USSR regions are exchanging delegations of party functionaries and activists, representatives of the mass media and lecturers with the GDR bezirks. Right now all bezirk SED organizations have relations with a total of 17 republican, regional and municipal CPSU organizations.

A central place in the system of relations on the local party level is held by the exchange of experiences in socialist and communist construction. More is being made of mutually studying the practice of organizational work and of political mass activity and ideological work, of the management in the development of various branches of the economy, of the development of culture, and of the experiences in educating the working people in the spirit of socialist

internationalism. In the development of relations between the local party organs the CPSU and the SED see to it that the exchange of work experiences results in top benefits, proves effective, and in all its substance promotes the rapprochement between our peoples. This effort has shown real results.

The CPSU is promoting the close relations of its local party organizations with the SED's bezirk organizations because they are of concrete benefit to both sides, mainly in that this is developing further the internationalist consciousness of the working people. Our party attributes special importance to purposeful guidance for this collaboration because its effectiveness largely depends on it. After all, the practical efficacy of these relations depends on accurately understanding the tasks, the specific conditions and the concrete situation. CPSU organizations and their SED partners carefully and concretely carry out general political and specific preparations for their experience exchange. There, mutual interesting problems become more and more the focal point of attention, and they are ever more consistently ensuring that all the experiences are conveyed to the partner.

The contacts with the SED bezirk organizations have become more effective on the basis of intensive mutual studies of the concrete working methods and procedures in the various sectors of the economy. This purpose has also been served by the elaboration of comprehensive plans for the development of contacts between GDR bezirks and USSR regions, which contain objectives for further perfecting the relations between the party and state organs, the trade union, youth and other organizations, the mass media, and the work collectives, so as to exchange representatives from the sectors of material production, science, culture and sports. Leading party organs furthermore have worked out effective party control measures for effectively using the mutual contacts. Analyzing the results of the trips of delegations, they have made the comprehensive plans more concise. Resolutions taken are correlated with regional and local CPSU and SED executives.

Through the exchange of delegations and advisory groups, experiences in party work are being studied. More joint measures were carried out, and they also have broadened the exchange of experiences in the implementation of the comprehensive plans on the economic and social development of regions and towns, in ensuring the fulfilment of party resolutions, in conducting socialist competition, in the political work with the population in public education and so forth.

Relations on the level of bezirk and regional organizations have enriched the CPSU-SED fighting alliance through new forms and methods of party work. This has involved more party members, workers, and representatives of all working people in the GDR directly in shaping the fraternal alliance of the two parties, and they are working in the spirit of socialist internationalism.

The ever closer and truly fraternal and internationalist CPSU-SED relations express the Marxist-Leninist unity and cohesion and the irrevocable friendship of the Soviet and the GDR peoples. With optimism and confidence Comrade Erich Honecker asserted at the 60th anniversary of the USSR not so long ago: "The fraternal alliance with the CPSU and the USSR has been, is and remains for our people the unshakable basis for its consistent advances along socialism and peace. Thereby our forces are multiplied. Our fraternal alliance is deeply



anchored in the heart of our people, an indissoluble component of its new life. In always consolidating it further, we are fulfilling the legacy of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck, who regarded the friendship with the Soviet Union as a stable foundation for a secure future for our people."<sup>4</sup>

#### Effective and Useful Experience Exchange

CPSU-SED collaboration takes place on the basis of two-year plans. It is expanding year after year, and new forms evolve. Both sides rigidly control the fulfilment and efficiency of these plans. That includes mainly those matters in party organ activity which aim at perfecting economic management, ideological efforts, political mass activity and the party's organizational efforts in terms of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and of the 10th SED Congress and the subsequent central committee plena. There is nothing stereotype in the two-year plans for the relations between local organs. They reflect the practice thus far in joint efforts by certain party organs, the economic structure of bezirks and regions, and the nature of the science and cultural institutions existing there. In the two-year plans agreed on by the central committees, an important place also is assigned to the exchange agreements on the level of the local state organs, social organizations and enterprises.

Many SED bezirk managements have done a lot of work in 1982 in implementing the measures for cooperation with USSR partners. For instance, the Berlin Bezirk Management in March last year hosted a representative Moscow delegation, headed by the secretary of Moscow's municipal CPSU committee, L. A. Borisov, that familiarized itself in detail with the experiences of the Berlin bezirk party organization in implementing the 10th SED Congress resolution in the economic field. The delegation studied the experiences in working with the tasking workbooks in Berlin combines. Berlin Bezirk Management also hosted the first deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Moscow City Soviet, N. S. Trofimov, and the head of the construction and building materials department of Moscow's CPSU city committee, V. P. Shelkunov, who studied questions of construction management in Berlin. Berlin Bezirk Management, in turn, on an invitation from the Moscow city committee, dispatched a delegation to Moscow in 1982, headed by its second secretary, H. Mueller, to exchange experiences in party work.

Reciprocal visits by specialists of the Moscow city council and the Berlin city council are going to continue in 1983. Cooperation is developing between the municipal trade union organizations. In 1982, Berlin trade unions dispatched a friendship train to Moscow. This year, a large group of specialists, delegated by the Moscow trade unions, is expected in Berlin. When friendship trains reach their destination, active use is made of them in holding innovator conferences and reinforcing the direct relations among enterprises in the two cities, as representatives of the partner enterprises are on those trains. The rule is that the trade unions of the two capitals dispatch or receive a friendship train every 2 or 3 years. Furthermore, such trains also are being exchanged by the Berlin FDJ--reciprocally with the Moscow Komsomol organization--and by the Berlin organization of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship.

Good contacts are maintained between the Wilhelm Pieck Oberspree cable plant in Berlin and Moscow's Moskabel production association, between the Berlin machine

tool factory in Marzahn and Moscow's Red Proletarian enterprise, and between the Berlin TV electronics plant and the Moscow works for electrovacuum equipment. Some 40 percent of the partner enterprises in Berlin and Moscow dispatches and receives special delegations in both directions every 1 to 2 years. For enhancing the effectiveness of direct relations between the enterprises in Berlin and Moscow considerable reserves, however, are still available. As an example for fruitful cooperation one may also refer to the efforts in implementing a joint operations plan for the universities in Berlin and Moscow. The party executive of Humboldt University plays an active role in this. Good working contacts also exist between BERLINER ZEITUNG and the Moscow PRAVDA, and between BZ AM ABEND and VECHERNAYA MOSKVA.

A point should also be made of the fine results of the visits in 1982: In Rostock Bezirk, by the central committee delegation from the Latvian CP, headed by central committee secretary E. Auskaps (for studying the friends' experiences in boosting labor productivity and introducing new technologies); in Schwerin Bezirk, by the central committee delegation from the Estonian CP, headed by central committee secretary A. B. Upsi (for exchanging experiences on general matters of party work, especially in the economic field); in Gera Bezirk, by a Pskov CPSU regional committee delegation, headed by the secretary of the regional committee, L. N. Ulyanov (for exchanging experiences in ideological and political-educational work); in Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk, by an Irkutsk CPSU regional committee delegation, headed by a member of the regional committee bureau and chief of the East Siberian Administration under the Main Administration for State Supplies of the USSR, V. I. Shishov (to study experiences in the saving and rational use of raw materials, working material and energy, in processing production waste products, and in the field of public services); in Potsdam Bezirk, by a Minsk regional committee delegation of the Byelorussian CP, headed by the first secretary of the regional committee, V. A. Mikulich; and in Leipzig Bezirk, by a Kiev regional committee delegation of the Ukrainian CP, headed by the department chief of construction in the regional committee, Y. A. Kusai.

The experience exchange between the local CPSU and SED organs deals with concretizing the questions under study. That reflects the objective processes taking place in the public life of both countries, the great number of new important concrete problems which to a large extent are identical and which, to be solved, equally require more party guidance (for instance in introducing robots and manipulators in industry, more agricultural intensification, matters of the raw materials and materials economy, and the need for further elevating the level of ideological and organizational party work). The German comrades in turn seek to make much use in their practical activities of the work experiences of the CPSU organizations and those of the Soviet state organs and of the trade union, Komsomol and other mass organizations. The SED, for example, as our own party, practices regular party executive reporting to the basic organizations; they are using CPSU experiences in controlling the fulfilment of party assignments, the work with agitation on sight, with youth, with propagating socialist labor traditions, with organizing socialist competition, and with directing the activities of the peoples representations and their commissions.



Bezirk party organizations also are busy in making use of forms and methods in the work of the local CPSU basic organizations with respect to the appearance of executive functionaries before working people, the conducting of forums, festivals of labor glory, the celebrating of winners of socialist competitions, meetings with party and labor veterans and antifascist resistance fighters, the setting up of labor glory showcases in enterprises and so forth. It is worth making the point that our German friends analyze the results of our collaboration annually and widely disseminate the positive experiences, which also makes it possible for them to make the work in this field so skillful that the effectiveness of reciprocal local relations is enhanced. The SED Central Committee focuses the bezirk party organizations on the idea that an important criterion for assessing the quality of contacts with the partner in the USSR (as also with those in other socialist countries) lies in the practical application of experiences made by the fraternal countries in the GDR. Much credit is given to the collaboration between Dresden and Leningrad, Berlin and Moscow, Suhl and Kaluga. The regular meetings between the first secretaries of bezirk and regional committees help lend partnership relations high efficacy.

The Friendship Days, sponsored within the framework of relations between local party organs, also have turned out to be effective political measures. Successful have been the Friendship Days together with Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk, held in the Volgograd region, attended also by a delegation headed by an SED central committee member, the first secretary of Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk Management, S. Lorenz, and the Friendship Days with Leningrad, conducted in Dresden. The latter was attended by a delegation headed by the second secretary of the Leningrad CPSU city committee, A. F. Dubov, a delegation from the Leningrad section of the Soviet Society for Friendship with the GDR, two lecturers from the Leningrad city committee, a group of journalists, five specialized tourist groups (160 persons), a Leningrad ballet ensemble, and ensembles of the Maxim Gorki palace of culture and of the house of pioneers and soloists of the Leningrad Concert Management. Five art exhibits organized by the Leningraders were shown during the Friendship Days. Contests were held for Leningrad and Dresden swimming and athletic teams. The Friendship Days were planned in such a way that in the course of them a whole number of measures could be taken care of in accordance with the plan for bilateral relations.

German comrades pay much attention to developing the cooperation and competition between work collectives, production brigades and specialists in the partner enterprises in the GDR and USSR. This form of relations is considered one of the most advanced. Some SED bezirk managements assigned especially selected groups of specialists and brigades the tasks carefully to study progressive methods and technologies in the partner enterprises in the USSR so as to introduce later in the industry of the bezirk anything that could further advance technical progress. Such ties, as the SED Central Committee comrades have said, promote the "most rapid transfer of experience" and thus help improve the efficiency of the production process. In nearly all GDR bezirks permanent contacts have formed with industrial and agricultural enterprises in the USSR. In Leipzig Bezirk, for instance, there are 19 enterprises and brigades, in Halle are 15 and in Suhl are 30, that are working together and are in competition with enterprises and brigades of their befriended USSR regions. In honor of the 60th USSR anniversary, in the bezirks of Rostock, Schwerin and Neubrandenburg 29, 27 and 21 enterprises respectively competed with enterprises in their Soviet partner regions.

A fruitful direct cooperation exists between the Sachsenwerke combine in Dresden and the Leningrad Elektrosila association. It embraces the production process as well as the social and cultural life in the collectives. Such contacts also exist between some other enterprises in GDR bezirks and USSR regions which are partners in inter-party relations. The scope of our party relations has, for all intents and purposes, reached an optimum level on all plains; the main attention is now given to maximal effectiveness and its results, while we also still in some cases have to remove formalism and whitewash where that still survives.

CPSU-SED contacts are developing and deepening. Our German friends show much consideration to the delegations and groups of party workers coming to the GDR, frankly inform them of their experiences and are vividly interested in ours. Heads and members of Soviet delegations have been received for talks with SED Central Committee department chiefs, Politburo members, SED Central Committee secretaries, and also by Comrade Erich Honecker.

The outcome of the 10th SED Congress provides persuasive evidence for that the SED holds high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, creatively approaches the solution of the problems arising in the course of socialist construction, and is holding a steady course toward peace and anti-imperialist solidarity. The fraternal GDR-USSR alliance and that between the SED and the CPSU, "a great revolutionary accomplishment, is indestructible for all times."<sup>5</sup>

Our parties are deeply aware of their enormous responsibility to their peoples, the communist world movement, and all forces fighting for peace and socialism. The experiences from the collaboration between the SED and the CPSU, and between the GDR and the USSR, prove, and the results of the 26th CPSU Congress and of the 10th SED Congress confirm, that the alliance with the USSR, the GDR's solid membership in the community of socialist states, provides the GDR people with a stable foundation for its security and its successes in socialist construction, and so it will remain forever. Carrying on the traditions of the party congresses, the SED termed the main goal among the foreign policy goals set down by the 10th party congress the continued purposeful development of the fraternal alliance with the USSR.

Thanks to this alliance, the GDR can "ensure for the future its stable and dynamic development as a solid component of the community of socialist states."<sup>6</sup> The constant consolidation and the further development of the fighting alliance with the CPSU, as it conforms with the changed conditions for our struggle, the CPSU being "the most experienced, toughest and strongest revolutionary party,"<sup>7</sup> is the most important external condition for the GDR to continue the shaping of the developed society, thereby creating the prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism. Without that collaboration it would be impossible to solve the main task in further elevating the people's material and cultural standard of living based on a high rate of development in socialist production, increased efficiency, scientific-technical progress, and the growth in labor productivity.

A meeting was held in Moscow in December 1982 between Y. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. "In the talks the unchangeability of the line of principle of both parties for continued all-round USSR-GDR collaboration was confirmed."<sup>8</sup>

The Soviet executive greetings sent to the 33rd anniversary of the founding of the socialist German state had this to say: "The Soviet communists and all Soviet people emphasize with special satisfaction the truly fraternal atmosphere that informs the relations between the CPSU and the SED, between the USSR and the GDR. Every day we sense the further development and perfection of the mutual relations and contacts embracing all areas of party work, governmental and public activity, and all the sides of the complex life in our two countries. Our collaboration in the economic field is developing intensively, and the intellectual relations between our peoples are becoming ever closer. The USSR and the GDR always act as friends and fellow-combatants."<sup>9</sup>

That reliably guarantees the future growth and strengthening of the indestructible friendship between our states, which conforms with the fundamental interests of both peoples and serves to consolidate the positions of socialism and peace in Europe and beyond that continent. These relations of fraternal friendship, close cooperation and rapprochement exemplify socialist internationalism in action.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 9.
2. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 20.
3. "Joint Communique on the Outcome of the Official Friendship Visit by a USSR Party and Government Delegation in the GDR," "Dokumente der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED Documents), Vol XVII, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 311-312.
4. Erich Honecker, "The USSR--the Haven of Peace and the State With Human Rights Realized," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 22 December 1982, p 1.
5. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . .," op. cit., p 20.
6. Ibid., p 6.
7. Ibid., p 150.
8. "Yuri Andropov--Erich Honecker Meeting," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 21 December 1982.
9. "GDR National Holiday Congratulations from the USSR," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 8 October 1982, p 1.

BOOK ON GDR CITIZENSHIP REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 5, May 83 (signed to press 14 Apr 83)  
pp 507-508

[Review by Tord Riemann, director, department of constitutional law, Jurisprudence Section, Humboldt University of Berlin, of book "Die Staatsbuergerschaft der DDR" (Citizenship of the GDR) by Gerhard Riege, Staatsverlag, Berlin 1982]

[Text] You only have to pick up this book and will be convinced that this monograph, by the head of the constitutional law department of Friedrich Schiller University in Jena, is a worthwhile and needed complement to previous publications on citizenship. In over 300 pages the reader will find answers to questions about the nature and substance of GDR citizenship, about how to acquire and how to lose it. What is possible only to a limited extent in the GDR constitutional law college textbook and in works written for popular consumption, a monograph can more fully work out the historic processes behind rules of law, present and evaluate diverse points of view, make comparisons of legal investigations, suggest further developments of legal institutions and, not last, take issue thoroughly with the imperialist ideology and practice. The author has used those opportunities well.

A reader can inform himself about the citizenship theory and is given a survey on the state of the debate on the citizenship concept in socialist literature and the positions taken by imperialist states and bourgeois authors. The details on the development of the bourgeois views on the relationship between the state and its citizens and what they practically mean help us understand the new quality of the GDR's socialist citizenship which is shown in detail through its genesis and further development in the founding and development of our workers and farmers state. A thorough and justified position is taken on all legal matters having to do with GDR citizenship. A great amount of literature has been analyzed to that end. Careful source references and many comparative law references permit a deeper penetration and subsequent study. This also bestows on the book the function of a reference work on GDR citizenship.

The present monograph receives special benefit and value from the topical nature of the questions and problems it deals with in that the legal embodiment of socialist citizenship, after all, defines the new position of man in the state and society that is brought about and developed in our socialist transformation.

The substance of socialist citizenship is formed by what is essential in socialist society and its state--the development of socialist personalities, the free development of man's creative capacities for the benefit of society and of each individual. On that basis, the author refuses to conceive of citizenship merely in terms of legally associating a person with a given state; he rather conceives of it as a "substantively replete political-legal relationship" (p 59) and defines GDR citizenship as "the stable, permanent, political-legal relation, independent of any place of residence, between a person and the GDR, based on socialist production relations and the political power of the workers class, and in which the citizen, sharing in the people's sovereignty, possesses all the basic rights, freedoms and obligations" (p 69).

A reservation seems to be called for in this connection which pertains to what is said about the diverse definitions and explanations of the concept of socialist citizenship in socialist literature. Whether socialist citizenship is to be defined as a political-legal status or forms the precondition for it, whether it is defined as a legal tie or interrelationship between state and citizens, whether the basic rights and obligations are included or founded in it--a standpoint has to be taken on it certainly. But this would still call for cutting matters down. Eventually, still divergent standpoints and diverse consequences can hardly be deduced from the conceptions cited. On the other hand, I would wish some passages in the book were more detailed. The survey on citizenship regulations in the socialist states could be fuller, and the position of foreigners and stateless in the GDR could be given more detailed treatment.

The work is also highly relevant with respect to the role citizenship questions play in the international class conflict. The FRG keeps talking about a "unified German citizenship." The author persuasively demonstrates that this is a political construct that contradicts reality and amounts to a striking violation of the most elemental norms of international law. He traces the backgrounds and objectives explaining that thesis and its implementation in the FRG's legislation, jurisdiction and administrative practice, and he demonstrates its connection with the perilous aspirations by influential circles of FRG imperialism to deny altogether the existence of the GDR as a sovereign state. The author treats in particular the variables in the FRG's citizenship doctrine in the past and the present, its being integrated in the overall structure of legal aggression, and its ties with the pseudo-theories of the "continued existence of the German Reich" and of the FRG's "identity with the German Reich," with the FRG's sole representation claim, the doctrine of the alleged survival of a unified German nation and of the "special character" of GDR-FRG relations. The author works out how confused and contradictory, scientifically untenable and illogical the arguments are that raise a claim for expanding the imperialist power sphere vis-a-vis the GDR, Polish and Soviet citizens. All the more emphatically therefore must we raise the claim for recognizing realities also regarding the GDR citizenship. On behalf of normalizing interstate relations, of detente and of ensuring security in Europe, it is necessary to bury this relic from the Cold War period for good.

Altogether, the book offers worthwhile material for understanding the new relationship between the state and its citizens in socialist society and for coming to grips with the FRG's citizenship doctrine. Above and beyond the circle of jurists, it is to be recommended especially to educators and propagandists. It should be on hand in all educational institutions.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, MAY 1983

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 5, May 83 (signed to press 14 Apr 83)  
p 511

Socialism's Peace Initiatives Opposing Anti-communist "Crusade"

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Gregor Schirmer, jurist, deputy  
department chief of the SED Central Committee; pp 432-435]

[Text] Central Committee secretaries of communist and workers parties on 14 and 15 March 1983 in Moscow in unanimity discussed the most important topical tasks in the ideological struggle for implementing the peace initiatives of the community of socialist states, to confront aggressively the "crusade" of the Reagan administration and its NATO allies. The information exchange on measures of tribute to the Marx centenary commemoratives demonstrated that the Marxist doctrine guides the practical work in the construction of the new society.

Fraternal Relations Between the CPSU and the SED--Nucleus of Cooperation Between Our People

[Summary of article by Piotr Abrasimov, member, CPSU Central Committee,  
(former) USSR ambassador to the GDR; pp 436-445]

[Text] The fraternal alliance of the communists in the USSR and the GDR is based on our common struggle in history and at the present, the friendship between their peoples, and the permanent collaboration between the CPSU and the SED, governed by deep understanding, trust and agreement. Meetings between the general secretaries of both parties' central committees and meetings on all levels make for detailed exchange of views and lend new impulses to our collaboration. Relations are becoming increasingly more effective, new forms are engendered, the problems in the continued advance toward socialism/communism are resolved jointly, and the fraternal alliance is reinforced.

## Increasing Labor Productivity--the Essential Factor in Growth of Performance

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Georg Ebert, director, and Prof Dr Harry Milke, docent, of the department for political economy of socialism at the SED Central Committee's Karl Marx Party College; pp 446-451]

[Text] Proceeding from the demonstration that increasing labor productivity is a concentrated expression of the vital interests of socialist society and the centerpiece of our party's economic strategy, the following questions are dealt with: Which measures and new requirements determine at present the struggle for higher labor productivity? Which tasks must principally be tackled? How can and must performance comparisons among combines as well as kreises be used more effectively still to tap productivity reserves?

## The Labor Capacity--Our Most Precious Possession

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Jentsch, general director of the VEB Mansfeld "Wilhelm Pieck" Combine; pp 452-456]

[Text] Converting the economy to intensification implies a careful handling of live labor and demands that the greatest benefit be derived from the labor capacity assigned. The measures aimed at that in socialist rationalization, the effects looked for in cutting back jobs, working hours and manpower, must be carefully prepared and implemented with the working people together. How does one ensure there the unity of economic and social effectiveness? How does one assure the working people of safe prospects?

## What Provides Motivation for High Scientific-Technical Performance?

[Summary of article by Dr Frank Adler, docent and deputy director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology, SED Central Committee Academy for Social Sciences, and Dr. Rosi Winzer, docent and deputy director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, SED Central Committee Academy for Social Sciences; pp 457-463]

[Text] It is being demonstrated by means of experiences of advanced combines and sociological surveys that the spectrum of performance motivation is highly complex and under the effect of many factors. Why are ambitious tasks as well as a clear understanding of their economic and political dimensions crucial connecting links for stable socialist performance motivation? What must management activity pay attention to so as to make still better use of the motivating effects of the performance principle (materially as morally)?



## Focus on Applied Art

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Ullrich Kuhirt, docent, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Sciences, SED Central Committee Academy for Social Sciences; pp 464-470]

[Text] Through its displays in applied art, the Ninth GDR Art Exhibition demonstrated the grown creative potentials and great role this ramified field of artistic creation plays in the development of the culture and lifestyle in our society. What are the effects coming out of architecture-related art? Does its design satisfy the needs of public life? What production problems are turning up in crafts and graphics?

## The Working Youth in the Socialist Revolution

[Summary of article by Dr Werner Haltinner, director, research area for working youth and youth, SED Central Committee Academy for Social Sciences; pp 471-477]

[Text] The special attention the SED pays to working youth is due to the working class responsibility for its rising generations, as set down by Marx and Engels. What changes in its development have been effected by socialism? How is youth enabled to take an active and equal part in further shaping the developed socialist society? What is to be done to make still greater use of the important available reserves for economic performance improvements and of the educational potentials in the socialist personality development of young workers?

## Scientific and Philosophic-Ideological Aspects of Brain Research

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans-Juergen Matthies, M.D., director, Institute for Neurobiology and Brain Research, GDR Academy of Sciences; director, Institute for Pharmacology and Toxicology, Medical Academy, Magdeburg; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 478-484]

[Text] Neurobiology and brain research are having a tremendous development. What are the conditions and prerequisites and the ripened social needs that are granting increasing weight to the neurosciences? What are the main research trends and most important results? What is the practical, theoretical and ideological importance of the research in this field? Why does it become increasingly significant to the class conflict in our era?



## The Nature and Manifestations of Fascism

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Manfred Weissbecker, Friedrich Schiller University, Jena; and Prof Dr Walter Wimmer, deputy department chief, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 485-491]

[Text] In contradiction to bourgeois and social democratic notions, the following is persuasively demonstrated: Fascism is one of the most dangerous excrescences of imperialism. It expresses the undisguised desire by the most extreme forces of the monopoly bourgeoisie to uproot historic progress by all means. The communists have always proven the most resolute force of the antifascist struggle. Georgiy Dimitrov's classical definition provided them with what they needed to understand the nature of fascism correctly. It remains of the greatest relevance because the danger of fascism has not been assuaged in the world.

## Capitalist Economic Crisis--Outcome of Wrong Economic Policy?

[Summary of article by Dr Guenter Krause, economist, docent, economic sciences department, Humboldt University in Berlin; pp 492-498]

[Text] Bourgeois economists and politicians seek to attribute the capitalist economic crises to subjective errors and the wrong economic policy. Which objective connections and intentions are the basis for that? What actually is the role played by economic policy in contemporary capitalism; what can it do and what can it not do? What does the "crisis in economic policy" in imperialism result from? What requires an alternate economic policy for the sake of the social interests of the working people as well as for the preservation of peace, and what is the main condition for its being implemented?

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CSO: 2300/414

## WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

### Authority in Workers' Self-Government

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 23 Aug 83 pp 3, 4

[Article by Maria Szczuka: "How Much Authority in the Hands of Self-Government?"]

[Text] It is still not easy for the worker self-governments to pick themselves up after the shocks of the last 3 years, caused by "suspension, reinstatement," the changing social-political and official-legal situation. The regeneration of the third "S" is also proceeding generally slowly and carefully in very different ways in each enterprise. Comparatively few representative organs of our region actively joined in the process of a shared administration of the factory, fully using the legal authorizations. Part of them rely for all matters on the management; a large part cannot muddle through the official-organizational phase. On what barriers are the self-governments stumbling today? What sustains them? What matters occupy them?

### At Standstill

In many enterprises the organs of self-government were elected before the Sejm resolution of September 1981 came into effect. The common election "sin" of that period was deviation from the rule of direct and public election of workers' councils. Personnel often chose "members of self-government," as it was popularly defined, who just among themselves, and thus indirectly, appointed the council. Such was the behavior in the Polchem Torun Inorganic Industry Works. After the "reinstallation" of self-government in December 1982 the representatives of the personnel were faced by the dilemma: What next?

"We assumed," says the former chairman of the workers' council, Ignacy Kania, M.A., "that a council elected inconsistently with the law can neither conduct legal activity nor pass a legally valid resolution. We decided to conduct elections once again."

It started all over again: the meetings of the representatives of the organizational units, the appointment of the factory election committee, the elaboration of the electoral law, the districts, the lists of

candidates, the elections at the end of April. And here things got jammed. One of the districts, employing around 15 percent of the personnel, neither put up candidates nor took part in the elections.

"We came to a standstill," says Ignacy Kania. "Nine districts conducted elections in keeping with the electoral laws; one slipped up for organizational reasons, but one of the services did not show any interest in the matter. We did not know what to do in this situation. Does the entire staff have to be represented in self-government organs? I even wrote to the experts of the Sejm commission for matters of self-government on this issue, but..."

Shortly after our discussion at Polchem an explanation by Assistant Professor Tadeusz Joworski appeared in RZECZPOSPOLITA, from which it results that there are no legal obstacles for the Polchem Torun representative organs to undertake activity.

"...a lack of participation in the council of representatives of one of the organizational units..." explains Assistant Professor Jaworski, "is after all the result of the will of the electors and not a result of deviation from the resolution..."

Units, which have not elected their representatives, cannot be represented by the administrative management even in an advisory capacity. The electoral law, however, may allow the holding of the elections at a later time. The doubts were then resolved. With this probably the last barrier impeding the starting up of the Torun self-government fell.

#### Enthusiasm Escapes

The expansion, however, during the organizational stage did not in general benefit the matter of self-government. The example from the furniture accessories factory, plant number 5 in Rypin, also convinces one of this. Here it was necessary to repeat the elections as the result of deviations from the resolution. Because the members, that is delegates, of the "old" self-government were elected according to the law before the suspension, the repetition applied only to the second organ, namely the workers' council.

"Never in my life had I organized elections," says Boguslaw Rychlik, who together with Bronislaw Tomaszewski became a part of the enterprise election committee. "I felt a lack of knowledge and experience. How many doubts I had! I could not sleep at night. But my colleagues from the department and the artists, all helped me a lot. I think that everything was as it should be: the lists, districts, proposals of candidates. There were many communiques through the wire-broadcasting center, illustrations, handbills, even flowers at the election localities. We put a great deal of effort into these elections, but they were worth it. This commitment was passed on to the staff. Once more it was possible to rouse them. Everyone lived for this matter; as a body they

came to the ballot box, and we recorded an attendance of 88 percent. And now my heart bleeds when I see how enthusiasm escapes from people. More than one has giped me with: 'What now, Mrs Boguslaw? The election has passed, and we still do not have self-government'..."

The hitch in this is that the factory in Rypin is one of five units which form a multifactory enterprise. Because of this, the factory had to wait for the general meeting of delegates, which would pass a statute of self-government, delimiting the authority between workers' council of the whole enterprise and the factory council. Almost three months of this waiting had its own consequence. The "S" again was surrounded by a climate of apathy and indifference. Is it going to be possible to interest the personnel in the idea of shared administration once again?

Similar questions still remain unanswered in not a small group of enterprises. However, there is no lack in our region of examples of self-governments that already have this stage far behind them and are concentrating attention today on problems that are troublesome for the activity of the factories, such as the pay systems, employment, plan corrections, savings programs, etc.

#### Pay Revolution

The workers' council of the Kujawy Car Repair Factory in Solec Kujawski did not hesitate to undertake such an unpopular subject as the use of working shifts. The council chairman, Kazimierz Hajdamowicz, who got to know the taste of work in the West--systematic work, evenly distributed, without tugs and hurry--cannot agree with our native habits.

"With us nobody is ashamed to take unearned money," he says, "for talking at the workplace, for standing in line, for being late. There is no disapproval for loafers. Quite the opposite, they are covered-up for. And in addition people are demanding higher salaries. We know that now, during the reform, money will not drop on us from the sky. That is why we appealed to the management for a change in the rules of remuneration that would force greater efficiency."

It was not necessary to wait long for the administration's answer. It was generally known that the game is worth the candle. The standardization services confirmed that an average factory worker wastes around 20 percent of the working shift; that is, during the week he effectively works only 33-34 hours. In order to eliminate losses, the administration proposed an "individual system of work evaluation." Speaking most generally, it would be based on the foreman or manager writing on special forms all the losses of time of each worker. The reliability of the notations would in turn be controlled by the standardization services. In practice it would look like this: somebody wants to go shopping, please go ahead, only this "tiny" half-an-hour will be noted on his card. Somebody wants to go early, he goes, but he does not get money for the wasted time. At the end of the month the wasted minutes are summed up

and deducted the salaries. The system was introduced for the time being (from 1 August) for a trial period. By the end of the month each person will get the count: how many hours worked, how many wasted, and how much it would cost him in zlotys. The financial consequences will start in September. Both the director of the enterprise and the chairman of the council agree that one effect of the new rules can be seen with the naked eye from the first day: leaving workposts early and coming to work late are finished.

"This is only the first step," foretells the chairman. "I think that for our actions, we will gain the support of the personnel if soon after the increase in efficiency, salaries will be raised. People in the majority want to be just and honestly evaluated."

#### Hundreds of Millions for the Taking

Lately savings programs are next to salaries as a central interest of the self-government organs.

"It is to be regretted," reflects the chairman of the workers' council at the Stomil Bydgoszcz rubber industry factory, Engineer Jerzy Ptaszynski, "that economic instruments did not force frugal administration and that they require the support of special programs. The present costly system of creating prices does not favor thriftiness. Because every cost--no matter what it is, if only documented by invoices--the enterprise can cover the price. Our starving market digests every price. So what interest does the producer have in producing more cheaply? This problem requires solutions imposed by systems. Programs, although in the present situation necessary and useful, are only the half-measures."

The Stomil savings program, analyzed and confirmed by the self-government organs, is characterized by reality and concreteness. It turns out that in the factory yard, it is possible to find millions waiting for use. Examples? Substituting imported with domestic polyvinyl will have a yearly effect on the order of 1.1 million zlotys; the optimization of the ingredients in rubber mixtures, 2.9 million zlotys; diminishing of rejections and scraps as the result of form verification, 3 million zlotys. It is still possible to widen the processing of scraps; all rubber fragments can be ground into powder and added to some mixtures.

It is possible to bring from Zyrardow fabric for belts narrower by 2 centimeters. It is possible to diminish the use of water, steam, and energy. And if this is all calculated, we will get results exceeding 100 million zlotys for this year alone.

According to chairman Jerzy Ptaszynski these effects, though by no means trivial, are far from what could be economized, if the mechanisms of reform did not get jammed; if the enterprise really cared about profits, knowing that they would not be taken in a large part of taxes; if each employee clearly felt the interdependence between effectiveness of production and the abundance of his own wallet; if, finally, self-government had greater influence on what is happening outside of the enterprise.

"The only recipient of the mining conveyor belts produced by us," Engineer Ptaszynski gives as an example, "is the mining industry supply center. But we, the self-governing, independent enterprise, cannot directly enter into a contract with the center, only in accordance with the rules of central distribution, we must use the services of the intermediary: the rubber industry article trade enterprise, paying for that of course with a proper margin of profit."

More than one similar barrier restricts the freedom of action of self-governments in practice. The still strong tendencies toward centralized leadership, commands and prohibitions, changing rules, specific transitory legal regulations--all this clips the wings of the representatives organs and impedes the strengthening of their position in the factories.

#### Cooperative Partners With Trade Unions

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 24 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Tadeusz Trujan: "Self-Government-Trade Unions: Cooperation of Partners"]

[Text] From time to time, on the occasion of various deliberations and meetings, more rarely in conversations with social activists in work factories, it is possible to hear that in the mutual relations between workers' self-government organs and trade unions jurisdictional disputes appear, and in any case, a vagueness results from the less-than-precise definition of the jurisdictions of both organizations in the laws, especially that of the union. As a matter of fact, the question is the division of these jurisdictions by an understanding that would make it clear what belongs to self-government and what to the union.

The Sejm resolutions did not make such a division because they could not do so; one concerns trade unions, the second concerns self-government and, therefore, different organizations with different ranges of activity. The boundary of jurisdiction is however obvious, and even evident from a comparison of both documents; nevertheless, in the sphere of interests, both self-government and unions find themselves with many of the same problems. Generally speaking and simplifying somewhat, the union organization directly represents the interest of the union personnel, while the self-government does this by incorporating the personnel into participation with the management of the enterprise. In both cases then the interest of the personnel is represented; however, in reference to self-government activities, it is more a question of collective interest (the better administrated, the more remunerative the enterprises, the greater the resources to be divided among the workers in different forms).

#### Converging Points

It is understandable that acting in favor of the personnel both organizations should maintain mutual relations. In the resolution concerning self-government, "cooperation with other organizations" is clearly talked about

and specifically: "The workers' council of the enterprise, on the basis of mutual agreements, cooperates with trade unions, political and youth organizations, and with other social and social-trade organizations acting in the enterprise" (Chapter V, article 34). From the resolution concerning trade unions it is worth in turn quoting the following fragment: "To the range of activity of the factory union organization belongs in particular:... assuming an attitude toward the factory manager and the self-government organ of the personnel in matters concerning the rights and interests of the personnel of the work factory, and in particular in the establishment of a labor statute, a reward and premium statute, distribution of labor time, establishment of a vacation plan together with plans concerning social-living and cultural needs of the personnel" (Chapter IV, article 30).

Naturally there are considerably more of these converging points in the interests of self-government (employment, rights and duties of the worker, housing matters, and the like). The union resolution in Chapter I, article 6 talks about this. However, the most essential fact is that solutions or the appeasement of the problems mentioned cannot be imagined without cooperation with self-government, which is why the word cooperation was written in the statutes of many factory union organizations.

#### Consultations Are Necessary

Let us return however to the problem mentioned at the beginning, that is, the jurisdictional disputes. On what basis are they generated? Let us say to start with that it is rather the union members who are not satisfied with the existing legal state. At least some representatives of the factory union movement maintain that if they want to influence effectively such areas as housing and the social building industry and the use of the funds of the economized profit, they should have greater authorization and those belong to the workers' council. In the reality of factory life, this gives rise to quarrels; however, this occurs only when the self-government organ makes decisions without consulting with or against the position of the union organization. And that is where the key meaning of the mutual cooperation comes from, to which after all the self-government organ was obligated by the Sejm resolution ("If the resolutions of self-government organs of personnel or the decisions of the director of the enterprise concern matters coming within the range of the activity of trade unions, before passing them, the enterprise organs are obliged to enable the trade unions to take an attitude toward these matters in keeping with the resolution concerning trade unions and with the labor code"--Chapter V, article 36).

And therefore reliance on legal foundations and strict observance of the Sejm resolution of September 1981 by self-government prevents, as a matter of fact, disputes in the area of jurisdiction from arising, although it does not exclude differences in opinion; but this is a separate matter.

Sometimes the source of the conflicts is also, delicately speaking, the workers' council taking over the tasks of the factory union organizations.



Apparently there were cases, although not very numerous, when the self-government organ after completing a division of means decided by itself to whom personally to grant, for example, an apartment or a year's award. Practices of this kind, it is perfectly clear, are flagrant transgressions of jurisdiction and they do not require commentary.

#### In the Opinion of Activists

In order to support these considerations with the practice in factories, we got opinions on this subject from self-government and union activists from such a significant Slask enterprise (with traditions of union and self-government movements) as the Pokoj steelworks in Ruda Slaska. Here is what they said:

Stanislaw Szczupak, secretary of the workers' council: "One hears about the difference of aims and the discrepancy of interests between the self-government organ and the union rather at the forum of nationwide deliberations or at seminars. In the factory they do not exist. It is a question of keeping to the resolution, to the accumulated experience of these organizations, and to high standards in social activity. Where can possible discrepancies derive from? Perhaps from ambitious considerations: 'Who is more important?' and then one reaches for such arguments as, for example, that self-government was appointed by the whole staff and unions only by part of it. By the by, our unions, although organizing around 20 percent of the employed, represent the interests of the whole, as the activists will undoubtedly tell you. But concerning the merits of the problem, if the self-government organ were to organize its work in such a way as to achieve the goals of the enterprise with benefits for the personnel, then conflicting situations would simply not arise. Another thing is that in mutual relations with the union, sometimes mutual compromises are necessary, for example, when dividing profits. Everything has to be commonly weighed. The unions would like, for example, more means for awards or collective consumption, but they cannot be indifferent to the matter of the factory's perspective and its development."

Franciszek Kuznia, member of the Pokoj steelworkers NSZZ [independent, self-governing trade union] administration: "We must look at what will happen with the steelworks after 2 or 3 years, because that is exactly what the well-understood interest of the personnel requires. We recognized, therefore, that the million zlotys from the division of profits marked for the development of the steelworks is not an exorbitant sum, despite the fact that greater rewards for the workers would prove useful. We are cooperating with the workers' council on the basis of partnership. After all, the representative of our administration is a member of the presidium of the council, obligated as it were by virtue of his office to maintain mutual contacts, and besides that, we are invited to self-government meetings during which matters of interest to us are discussed."

Marian Drobisz, member of the Pokoj steelworkers NSZZ administration: "We are not interested only in social-living or salary matters, but also in the plan, its realization, and economic results because they determine the



living standard of the personnel. Of course, we do not decide about these matters, but the self-government takes into account our opinion."

One can understand, we throw in the remark, that the aims of both links are common, but this however does not rule out conflicts. Let us assume theoretically that the good of the enterprise requires releasing a certain number of workers; they, however, appeal to the unions as the defenders of their rights...

Ryszard Zolnierowicz, vice chairman of the workers' council: "This is an example completely detached from reality, because we have exactly the opposite situation. Unless I am mistaken we lack around 700 people. Let us assume however that it would be necessary to fire 100 people and at the same time to raise the salaries of others. What then? It is clear that shirkers, insubordinates and those unworthy of the union's defense would go."

Is that also the opinion of union activists?

Franciszek Kuznia: "In conflicting matters, as a rule, we refer to the opinion of the personnel. This means that we converse with the workers and we ask their opinions, so that their decision would be our decision. And I would also like to stress that all contacts with personnel are not restricted only to members of the union. The majority of people, maybe even around 80 percent of them, come to us about matters of housing, salary, unknottting a labor contract--that is, not only about being sent to health resorts, grants or loans, do not belong to unions. But I am talking about this because wanting to represent the interests of the whole staff, we must be particularly interested in the activity of the self-governments and work closely with them."

Marian Drobisz: "Moreover, these are problems for which jurisdiction, of the union and of the self-government, cannot be completely separated. I have in mind present problems, such as preparing for the regulation of salaries next year, the training of workers, and the perspective of the factory. Here the activities must be shared."

Ryszard Zolnierowicz: "As far as salaries, opinions are divided not between the self-government organs and the unions but among the personnel. Some are for increasing the movable part, that is for widening the motivation systems, others, I suppose the majority, would like to see an increase in the fixed wages--as a more stable and safe variant. Without the unions it would be hard to get acquainted with the opinions. After all, the unions are working daily and people are coming to them. We, working socially, we meet first of all at meetings. The next matter, to which the union cannot be indifferent, is the further development of the steelworks with which the future fate of the staff is connected. As is known, as the result of the unfavorable for us scheme of prices and many other elements, the enterprise makes use of state subsidies. What will happen if they stop? How to painlessly change the profile of the

factory in order for the steelworks to become remunerative? How to prepare specialists for this? These questions prey on everyone's mind. Certain actions have already been undertaken; however, many unknown quantities remain."

Stanislaw Szczupak: "I think that the statements of my colleagues give a certain picture of the cooperation of both organizations. The position of the self-government organ in this matter is univocal. From one side the Sejm resolution determines it, for the other side, the situation shaped in the factory, and that is the traditions in this field, the desire for a shared solution of problems by the activists, and finally the present needs."

It seems that with such an understanding of the matters by the self-government organs and the unions, the division of jurisdiction becomes less essential; what counts first of all are the effects of activities, frequently undertaken in the common interest of the personnel and the enterprises.

12432

CSO: 2600/1299

COMBAT TRAINING CHIEF DISCUSSES DUTIES, TRAINING PROCEDURES

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 31, 31 Jul 83 pp 5,8

[Interview with Div Gen Wojciech Baranski, director of the Main Directorate of Military Training by Tadeusz Oziemkowski: "A Start On the Future"; time and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Isn't the Main Directorate of Military Training a new institution?

[Answer] In the beginning, in 1950, the Main Directorate of Military Training [Skolenie] was established and was then later changed to the Ministry of National Defense Inspectorate of Training [Wyszkolenie]. That was renamed the Main Directorate of Military Training in 1978. This institution was established to outline long-range tasks in the training of land forces and general military training tasks in all of the armed forces. It is also involved with widely-understood sports activities in the army. It creates the conditions enabling the realization of training tasks set by the minister of national defense as well as those originating in coalition ties within the Warsaw Pact. The GZSzB [Main Directorate of Military Training] itself conducts the hardest training work, including large-scale war games, shows how they are to be performed and notes the prospects for organizational and methodological solutions and stages for implementation of long-range tasks over several years or even over 10-20 years.

[Question] You are the director of the GZSzB...

[Answer] ...For 5 years or since it was formed. To be exact, I must add that I actually returned here. In 1954-56, I was a major and held the position at what was then the GZWB Main Directorate of Military Training Wyszukolenie of a division director and then, as a lieutenant colonel, I headed a section in one of the departments. My predecessors in the position of director were generals Sliwinski, Tuczapski, Stebelski and Antos.

[Question] What forms the basis of your methods at GZSzB?

[Answer] It is mainly very closely associated with staff work, practical activity, residence in a training workshop, both in the barracks and on the practice field. My officers spend over 6 months a year there. Their sojourn and mine as well is connected with conducting standard practical problem-solving

activities with observation and correction of task performance, presenting objective assessments and the degree to which tasks have been realized to the Ministry of National Defense and producing recommendations for the assumption of upcoming or new training work.

[Question] How have your own rich military experiences shown themselves in your position as chief instructor of the armed forces?

[Answer] I am not a front-line soldier. After finishing the Infantry and Cavalry Officers' School in 1946, I advanced over the years through the positions of platoon commander, company, battalion, regimental and divisional commander to commander of a military district. That was a unique preparation for the post of a central level educator.

[Question] When you meet young subunit and unit commanders, do you see then any comparisons to yourself?

[Answer] Fairly frequently, my thoughts wander back to when I was one of them. In "my time", the tools of training were much simpler. I remember when I was thrown into the proverbial deep water, although I was a little lucky since I was kept at the school after my promotion and given the position of platoon commander. Practically on my own, I had to work out methods for everyday training and teaching tasks and devote much time to preparing myself for every activity and lecture, to acquiring the necessary erudition and reading subject literature. I cannot hide the fact that I now look at young officers with a certain amount of envy. They are better prepared for work and service in the army because they have acquired an honest and well-grounded education. Young officers today have living contact with the future conditions of service and life in a unit even before their promotion, during their command practice or specialist work.

Methods of introducing young officers into service have been worked out and thoroughly proved in our armed forces in past years.

[Question] Now that you are in a higher position, how have you applied your own experiences, thoughts and conclusions on the service of young officers?

[Answer] Let me bring out an example from when I was the commander of the Pomorze Military District. Not so long ago, we grouped young officers that came to us in a course on instructor methodology. There we showed them how fundamental and important training and educational tasks are to be handled throughout the district. We wanted to spare military school graduates hard knocks and really improve their starting conditions.

[Question] Is the institution of ushering officers connected with this?

[Answer] Undoubtedly. "The period of going on all fours" is very important for young officers. His living conditions and service are suddenly changed: he stops being educated and trained and suddenly becomes the educator and trainer, the pedagogue and commander. If he has his success, that's good, but if he meets failures, then he becomes resentful, disappointed and becomes disinclined to his work. Sometimes there is an avalanche of problems and it can turn

out that the individual is no longer suitable for this work. This should be prevented in time by an older, benevolent and more experienced colleague, the ushering officer. He extends a helping hand...

From years of experience, one can fully appreciate this institution. The most important thing is that the older colleague can teach the younger officers self-dependence.

[Question] The time does come when the greenhorn has matured and then...

[Answer] ...he makes his way into a higher position. Promotions at one time took place very quickly. At the higher levels of command there was a shortage of well-trained officers. Young officers, capable, industrious and ambitious were sought among them. In the next positions of command, they, myself included, had to make their way independently and without almost any help and show their superiors that they had made the proper choice.

[Question] Are things any different today?

[Answer] Of course. Advancement to a higher position is preceded by scientifically-developed and pedagogically-executed preparation. It consists of very extensive academic training and improvement courses based on the idea of general principles of permanent education of professional soldiers. A young officer's start on his future is thus much easier. May these young officers be able to make full use of the solutions offered them, solutions that show deep concern for the unencumbered advancement of these young officers!

[Question] Perhaps you agree with the idea that even the best school and the most well-organized course of study cannot take the place of systematic work with oneself, solid self-training and conscientious preparation of oneself for every appearance before a subunit or unit.

[Answer] I am of the same opinion but I would add that this must be taught from the very beginning. Furthermore, one must train oneself to have the stubbornness and stamina in the pursuit of knowledge, in learning its secrets. One must simply have a passion for it. However, not everyone is completely aware of the obvious fact that a professional actor, for example, has pauses in which he prepares himself, goes over weak points. The training officer must always operate before a raised curtain, without pauses, have a prepared program and pass the tests put before him by the specific responsibilities of army life. I will add that the majority of officers pass the test completely!

[Question] What if, in spite of everything, they do feel some moral lapses?

[Answer] My own experience tells me that the poor fellow's lack of knowledge and training is the chief cause of that state of affairs. He has somehow just slipped through his studies, but that's hard to do now...

[Question] To conclude, what sort of people are these young officers?

[Answer] Now as before, they are people not lacking in fervor, enthusiasm and readiness to devote and give themselves completely. Furthermore, they present ever-higher qualifications and greater knowledge. This speaks very favorably of the army institutes of higher learning that have properly prepared their students for life as a soldier and have given them lasting positive traits. This, in turn, lays a great responsibility upon their superiors to put those qualities to good use, to not waste their value. At one time, there were found among the higher young officers malcontents that complained about their obvious lack of experience in dealing with daily problems of education and training. I would advise those malcontents to think back about their own start as officers.

[Question] What has been the contribution of training to the experience of the armed forces during the performance of their martial law tasks? How has this been used in the current training year?

[Answer] All military educators and trainers have gained complete satisfaction from long years of hard work in educating and preparing the readiness of individual units for the performance of various, difficult missions unforeseen by any training program. After all, even the best, most carefully prepared and well thought-out decisions must be verified in some way since they are carried out by individual soldiers and large groups. In this difficult period, the entire armed forces, thoroughly convinced that the fatherland stood in the greatest need, unanimously undertook the patriotic performance of tasks marked out by the peoples' authorities.

Of great value was the fact that this presented an opportunity to test and recognize as correct the training procedures used in this period. It turned out to be possible in many areas to make greater demands, especially in places where too cautious standards had been applied. For example, the column march speed for units and tactical formations during martial law was one and a half to two times faster than the regulation march speed!

The verification of certain views and ascertainments made on the basis of martial law experiences has enabled us to set more ambitious training tasks for 1983. It is also worth adding that Warsaw Pact allied enterprises during martial law were completely realized and sometimes improved upon. Our armed forces thus clearly showed their spirit as allies and their inalienable good faith.

[Question] When an armored or mechanized unit goes out in the practice field, is there any certainty that it has been well-prepared for the tasks it has to perform?

[Answer] The opportunities for particular units to perform their training assignments are fundamentally very varied. For example, one unit has an excellent barracks training facility while another is just having its facility built or modernized. For that reason, on-barracks training has for many years been subordinated to successful performance of field training tasks.

[Question] Does this mean that good preparation for field exercises is to a large degree dependent upon having a modern training base?

[Answer] Indeed it does, however, that base must be used to a maximum degree and the planned training program must be implemented by an integrated training method. For this reason, we have already spent several years tuning up our training base and this process is being implemented intensively.

[Question] Despite the economic crisis?

[Answer] We have also felt the crisis. I cannot hide the fact that the current 5-year period's tasks are somewhat lagging in their realization. We are presently unable to slow down in creating a modern training base with high-technology equipment because that could have terrible consequences in the future. To put it differently, we are actually creating a new training workshop but we have only completed the first stage. We now have already have tasks outlined for the coming stages in the more distant future as far ahead as the year 2000! I would like to still add that the standards for such a future training base are being realized first of all in military training.

[Question] Should commanders reconcile the necessity of attaining a high level of subunit or unit training with the need (the dictate) of maintaining thrift and how?

[Answer] In military training, economics are not held in any lower place than other realms of military management. Certain relationships operate here: the current limitations of funds for training determine the extent of our resources and the assigned tasks set our minimum achievements. In other words, we lay out the scale of costs on one hand, and the results to be achieved on the other hand.

[Question] A few years ago, some very hard exercises were held in which a tactical tank unit with its full complement of personnel and combat gear made a two-and-a-half day march over several hundred kilometers and then went straight into battle. In the light of what you said about economics, is such a plan possible and appropriate today?

[Answer] Regardless of economic aspects, one must be aware that some training activities are very expensive but they must be done. This is because the forging of combat readiness is not just a matter of personnel training, which is relatively inexpensive, but one of exposure to real practice of some duration with the use of a fair amount of combat equipment and covering some distance. Such exercises, which demand from all ranks of unit personnel their maximum physical and mental efforts, the application of learned skills in a concrete situation, demonstration of the ability to command and organize different types of actions, and fast, accurate decisionmaking in different types of units and services. There is no other way to check the physical and mental capabilities of the ranks, their actual firepower potential, the combat effectiveness of entire units and tactical units, the reliability of equipment used in rough field conditions, and the ability of the logistical supply services to keep the troops supplied with fuel, munitions and stores under various conditions. Thus, despite the high costs, even in today's temporary economic difficulties, we must and will continue to have to undertake costly, materials-intensive training activities because a mastery of training is one of the main components

of their combat ability. As we know, there can never be any halts on work in this area, especially since the aggressive policy of the U.S. has brought about a level of tension such as we have not seen since the end of World War Two. Our fatherland has had to play a special role in the sinister actions of the Reagan administration. However, despite all expectations...

[Question] What will be the results of training this year?

[Answer] We are at the halfway mark of realization of this year's tasks and we have a rich and numerous selection of comparative material. On the basis of this, we can definitely say that the winter and spring period of great intensity of training activity has passed. Many of the tasks assigned for this year have already been realized and the rest are in their final stages of completion. Everything points to the fact that we have well accomplished this year's work.

A great factor in this has been the awareness of the fact that this year is the fortieth anniversary of our army. We have noted great determination in the realization of various training assignments. Good results have been achieved on a large scale and we have been able to well assess many important training battles! We have also perceived a considerable enlivening of advancement and competition. I will add that model soldierly bearing is typical of unit and tactical unit collectives. This has shown itself in better training and discipline results than we had expected. Many activities have been undertaken to lead our nation from out of its crisis. All of this quite clearly attests to our training and educational work not being in vain, that it is producing the expected, and sometimes better than expected, results.

[Question] Thank you for the conversation.

12261

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COMMANDERS DISCUSS THEIR UNITS, ACTIVITIES

Combat Engineer Company Commander

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 32, 7 Aug 83 p 5

[Interview with Lt Bogdan Dziegielelewski, Combat Engineer Company Commander in the Krakow Podhale Unit and Demolition Squad Leader, by Tadeusz Oziemkowski: "An Engineer With an Edelweiss on his Sleeve"]

[Text] Photo caption [Photo omitted] Florian Siwicki, alternate member of the Central Committee of the PZPR Politburo, and deputy minister of national defense, decorates Lt Bogdan Dziegielelewski with the silver medal "For service in defense of the country."

[Question] Do soldiers of the Podhale Unit with colorful Goral hats covering their heads, capes imaginatively draped over their shoulders and an edelweiss on their sleeves, enjoy tremendous popularity in the district of Krakow?

[Answer] No more than soldiers of the Sixth Pomorze Air-Land Division who wear red berets. We do not really have to strive for popularity. Nor do we need to compete with one another for the attentions of the fairer half of this world, because there are many pretty Krakow girls here.

[Question] Are there any special reasons why you enjoy such popularity?

[Answer] Certainly, but I prefer to talk about my squad...

[Question] About yourself also?

[Answer] It is not my wish to appear evasive to questions concerning myself, although it might be because my name recently appeared in the ZP columns.

[Question] That was in January of this year when you were in Warsaw for the 1982 heroes' reunion and personally accepted congratulations from Defense Gen Florian Siwicki.

[Answer] Of course. Before leaving for this gathering I imagined that a hero--an impressive word--is a person who has performed a single unusual deed: saved someone's life, protected public property or interceded in defense of someone weaker. Upon receiving an invitation to this reunion I understood that my superiors still regard highly the satisfactory performance of duties, supported by conscientious effort, deliberation...

[Question] Surely you are too modest in your opinion of yourself, because if one were to accept such accomplishments and qualities which were just mentioned as a criterion for participation in the reunion referred to, the not 30 should have been invited, because there were that many of you, but thousands...

[Answer] That is true. Therefore, I will state briefly that for over 5 years, that is since completing Military Engineering Advanced Officers' School in Wroclaw, I have not only been occupied with the training of young soldiers, but I have likewise accepted the duties of demolition squad leader for the southern area of Poland, comprising Krakow and several neighboring provinces.

[Question] Are the duties difficult?

[Answer] Certainly. Daily trips--often I noted; even from five to six calls--required courage, as well as dedication from me and my soldier-engineers. Special intensification of calls took place during a period of increased investment and field work. It so happened that during the course of one day I had to travel 300-400 km, and not at holiday or relaxed speeds...

[Question] A good deal of kilometers were accumulated during the course of 5 years?

[Answer] More than circling the equator--over 60,000.

[Question] And mines?

[Answer] More than 130,000. I am not aware if that is large or small in comparison with other regions, but I do know that in every instance neither I nor any of the soldiers participating in demolition patrol could afford to treat even the most insignificant explosives lightly. Otherwise we would not be able to participate in this interview today.

[Question] Were there any unusual encounters?

[Answer] Especially memorably was the act of removing guided missiles, each of which weighed half a ton. But weight was not the problem. They could be transported to another location and detonated, if it were not for the fact that those missiles were equipped with unusually complicated fuses. These explosives could not be detonated on site because they were located

too close to a residential district. In this situation I was compelled to decode the construction of those fuses and remove them on the spot. The knowledge I gained in the Higher Officers' School [WSO] helped me... but theory is one thing and life something else. I must admit that that incident has often recurred in my dreams at night.

[Question] It is said that an engineer is entitled to only one mistake?

[Answer] I am of a different opinion. We are not allowed to make even one mistake. I am not allowed to risk my own life nor the lives of soldiers in my command, nor the lives of those who live in the vicinity of such dangerous finds.

[Question] We already discussed dedication...

[Answer] ...but our work does not only depend on that. Rather frequently it occurs that there is no time to eat a regular hot meal, nor return to the barracks before dark. It has happened, more than once, that we returned in the middle of the night. There are times when we do not eat or sleep properly. However, our greatest rewards lie in the smiles of the people whom we came to help, their words of gratitude... Sometimes a mug of hot coffee arriving at a moment when physical fatigue and psychological tension are devastating... means more than a decoration. During such moments we smile with the assurance that what we did was nothing great, because this is our daily bread. And so... But regardless of that, we firmly caution that no one should ever treat lightly even the most innocent-looking explosive. And furthermore it is not good.

Once I took an artillery shell from a farmer's yard that for many years had served as ... a hammer for the scythe. Later I drove him to a location nearby where we detonated these and similar misfired shells. Following the explosion he approached the great crater that "his" bullet had dug, and for a long time shook his head in disbelief. After a while he spat violently and muttered under his breath: "So old, and so stupid!" This was also gratifying.

[Question] As commander of the demolition squad, do you have any other duties?

[Answer] Certainly. The duties of company commander to which I was promoted after a year of professional service. Furthermore, this promotion was not at all tantamount to my being relieved of prior duties. Time and again I took part, together with my detachment, in flood and ice control work. Being supplied with specialistic boating equipment, we reached villages and communities threatened by nature. We rescued people, animals and personal possessions.

[Question] And was there sufficient time for everything?

[Answer] There were occasions when we worked without interruption for several days and night with no time for rest, sleep nor meals... And upon returning to the barracks, I learned that another assignment awaited us.

[Question] What other kind of assignments did you handle?

[Answer] We reconstructed many bridges destroyed by nature, many kilometers of road and railroad track. We modernized sport facilities, and among others applied the most effort to the repair of Duza Krokwa in Zakopane.

[Question] Being so overworked and living in constant danger, do you have any time for family life?

[Answer] I have found a girl who is very understanding and patient, and she has made me a happy husband and father.

[Question] At the assembly in Warsaw...

[Answer] I was decorated with a silver medal for "Services in defense of country." In addition to this I had one other emotional experience. During my trip to the capitol, I was able to indulge in some self-praise arising from the fact that while a cadet officer, I took part in the construction of the memorial, "A Salute to Engineers."

[Question] We hope all your officer's assignments will be easy ones, if such are at all possible. A steady hand in defusing the next hundreds of explosives, rapid advancement, as well as much satisfaction in your work of training and educating new detachments of engineers, with an edelweiss on their sleeves, and...a little more time for personal matters.

Air Force Commander

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 34, 21 Aug 83 p 5

[Interview with Brig General Tytus Krawczyc, pilot and commander of the Army Air Force, by Bogdan Bartnikowski: "A Passion for Flying"]

[Text] [Question] Exactly 30 years ago, when I was a cadet officer at the Officers' Air Force School in Deblin, Lt Tytus Krawczyc, squadron flight control commander, served with me...

[Answer] There was such a flight. I recall, although you were not in my squadron, squadron leaders nevertheless periodically assumed such control services as well. However, imagine how many years ago that was already!

[Question] Indeed. And you are still flying combat jet planes...

[Answer] I do fly. I try not to be a fair-weather pilot who flies only when the sun shines, but I stand prepared to carry out assignments in the air under all atmospheric conditions, day or night.

[Question] Now that you perform your duties as army air force commander, surely it is difficult to maintain a routine. Even if only because the office is after all considerably distant from the airfield, and because you have many organizational problems to resolve.

[Answer] That is true, but in spite of that, if I have enjoyed the air for so many years, I now do everything possible to fly as long as I can.

[Question] I think that it is also of importance to you that by flying you are personally constantly in range of flying personnel matters and service in order to understand their joys and indecisions.

In the air force, more so than in any other branches of the military, a professional bond for servicemen with superiors is necessary. A pilot always judges his commander by the way he flies. Respect is gained and held through good flying performance. If they see me in their midst on take-off, if we fly together, shoot together or bomb, pierce the clouds together and land...it is quite evident that there exists between us a true professional bond and understanding.

[Question] This year the People's Polish Army celebrates its fortieth anniversary. Next year the People's Air Force will experience 40 years of existence. That's a very long time, a period of tremendous changes not only in flying technology, but in knowledge, as well as the mentality of soldier-pilots.

[Answer] A great deal could be said here about a quality leap in flying technology. For example, the Mig-23...this is indeed a gigantic difference, this is simply another generation of flying machines. The same can be said of all technological flying gear. But people are the deciding factor in the use of this technology. They are likewise confronted with very modified requirements today. However, there has been no change in that which is most delightful in flying.

[Question] One detaches himself from the earth...

[Answer] That is precisely what happens. One experiences great joy and emotion in the air. And it is often realized under complicated conditions. This is a great thing for men.

[Question] But one often hears that flying has lost its former romanticism.

[Answer] Do you believe that?

[Question] No! But some do.

[Answer] Well, it is true that today we do not find romanticism in flying on the order of the RWD [abbreviation unknown]. But there is romanticism. On a par with our times, our knowledge and technology. It is true that considerably greater discipline is demanded of the pilot in flying than

before, that there is a considerably greater responsibility for equipment, for performance of assignments. But...even concerning take-off and ascent. Once, many years ago, if visibility was poor, the flight remained grounded, or soaked in the rain. Climb above the clouds? Practically an impossibility! But today? The ground is dark with clouds, but in a few seconds I leap into boundless sunshine. Isn't that magnificent? Well, if for no other reason, than in a few minutes I can cover half of Poland, isn't that thrilling?

[Question] Granted, but many things occurring on the ground preoccupy the minds of airmen. How does the army air force under current complex political and economic conditions, begin its anniversary year?

[Answer] Perhaps economics first. Through better than the prevailing organization for training, we must "extract" the maximum out of people and resources. Recently we held a meeting during which we even discussed reasonable management, the best utilization of people's skills and the capabilities of equipment. The attitude of literally every soldier of the army air force towards the performance of assignments has tremendous significance on the end results--towards exemplary performance of assignments in the air by the pilot.

Regarding political issues. The army air force protects the Polish borders on a daily basis. It guards the inviolability. This is truly combat service, even though we live in peace. Nothing, no hardships excuse us from maintaining combat preparedness and its further improvement. Only a perfectly trained pilot, navigator, technician, operator or driver--I mention only a few specialties--is prepared to cope with the spirit of changes which time brings, and perform tasks confronting him.

[Question] I would like to return to the romance of flying again, which you already mentioned. Our weekly newspaper is a periodical received by thousands of young Polish women and men. Many of them dream of flying, parachuting and serving in the air.

[Answer] I recall being once visited at the airport by a group of air force veterans. Distinguished gentlemen, already in their seventies, stood face to face with my lieutenants. How great was their enthusiasm! What a great experience it was for them to visit the airport and be among people servicing supersonic fighter planes! How much they had to tell about their flying years! I glanced at my young pilots. Many of them were astonished at the fervor of the veterans and their constant, instiable love of flying. Apparently they did not expect the recalling of and the endless reliving anew of all that had transpired half a century ago. I say this in order to prove that if the air force means so much to a veteran airmen, then it is evidently deserving of such great love.

The air force is not only a profession. It is also a passion. Indded passion challenges the possibility for achieving perfection also in the flying profession. I believe that in the air force, the majority is impetuous indeed. Flying will always provide it with much satisfaction, and certainly with its fervor it will continue to contribute something new to that flying.

[Question] May I conclude the interview with these words: Lieutenant, Cadet Bartnikowski is reporting after flight...

[Answer] As in the past? I see, that as with the veteran airmen, your memories of flying are sacred.

[Question] And, General, I do not conceal that at all.

9951

CSO: 2600/1302

PROVINCIAL DAILY INTERVIEWS HARDEK AFTER SURRENDER

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 26 Aug 83 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Wladyslaw Hardek, Solidarity activist and member of Solidarity's Provisional Coordination Commission, by Janusz Handerek: "Does the Underground Have a Program?"]

[Text] This interview took place last Wednesday afternoon after Wladyslaw Hardek's visit to the Military Garrison Prosecutor in Krakow where the amnesty law was applied to him. According to the law, the activist was set free, even though a warrant for his arrest was out before that. The following text is based on the tape made with Wladyslaw Hardek's consent. However, he told us that, because of personal matters to which he has to attend, he will not have time to authorize the interview. He asked, therefore, that the published record be provided with the information that it is unauthorized, which I am doing according to W. Hardek's wish.

[Question] What made you go into underground in December 1981?

[Answer] After martial law was introduced I believed that I should continue to be active in Solidarity. The underground became for me a continuation of my trade union work.

[Question] As time passed, significant changes took place in the country. Months and years passed and social attitudes underwent change. Were these objective facts taken under consideration by members of underground trade union structures?

[Answer] Where there is life, there are changes. However, the question whether all the progress that can be achieved under present circumstances has been achieved, always remains open.

[Question] You did not answer my question, however; so I will rephrase it: Did the underground take under consideration the polarization of people's attitudes and views, and if yes, then on which data was it based?



[Answer] Changes, as you called them, were obviously taken under consideration. We analyzed, judged, and evaluated. We in the underground did not do it alone, of course, but with the help of persons who were not in hiding, and who cooperated with us.

[Question] And what did the data show?

[Answer] The authorities claimed that the society was tired and needed peace, and we claimed that it was both tired and impatient. I agree that peace is needed, but there are differences between ours and the authorities' perception of how to achieve peace. I am thinking here about dialogue.

[Question] How did you imagine this dialogue? At a certain time the authorities said "no", introduced martial law with its harsh regulations, and said that they would not retreat. Solidarity ceased to be a legal organization, and its every confrontation with the authorities had to lead to conflicts. Such is the inexorable order of things.

[Answer] But there was also talk that martial law would bring relief and take care of many problems. The normalizing process took a long time, however.

[Question] It took less time in the economy.

[Answer] Not always. There were and are, different production results depending on the area of the economy and the line of goods.

[Question] It is a fact, however, that the Polish store looks differently in 1983 as compared with 1981.

[Answer] There is no question that there is a feeling of stability now, and this should be respected and expanded. It is good that black market, such as it existed in 1980 and 1981, is gone.

[Question] This is because more goods are available, although nobody claims that we live in a prosperous country.

[Answer] I cannot talk about stores because I lived in the underground, but when I am free I will be able to judge.

[Question] In this case, tell me please, what is the underground's program since it is the authorities' understanding that the formation called Solidarity is a page in history, a has-been, especially in its 1981 form. Anyway, the authorities were not the only ones to blame Solidarity. A significant part of Solidarity members also held the union guilty of many sins.

[Answer] I would not say that Solidarity is just a page in history and a has-been, since even the authorities look for certain values and aspects of Solidarity's program that they would like to implement. The authorities actually went back to the Gdansk agreements and believe that attempts at reaching understanding should be continued.

[Question] This concerns reaching understanding with workers. However, I am interested in Solidarity's program today, August 1983.

[Answer] The program? The underground's program as such does not exist. There are only program criteria that refer to our objectives and certain forms of action needed to achieve the objectives. Of course, the underground is seen today as very political and reactionary. Such opinions are formulated by our official press, among others.

[Question] Not only by them. You must have heard western radio broadcasts and read the western press. They speak clearly about opposition, about attempts to change the system. Do you believe that western journalists are lying?

[Answer] I already said that there is no program because it is limited to statements made by the Provisional Coordination Commission on the occasion of various events.

[Question] Are you thinking about calls to demonstrations, protests, etc?

[Answer] That too.

[Question] But were you and your colleagues from the underground aware that your calls and appeals found their way mainly to young people who often act on an impulse, are only beginning their adult life, and are politically unprepared to fulfill the role assigned to them?

[Answer] We were not aware of that. Our investigations of plants showed that our appeals found their way to most of employees.

[Question] Was a possibility of error or even being misled on purpose ever taken under consideration?

[Answer] It was difficult to verify the received information.

[Question] Did not the number of court and people's court trials with young people as defendants constitute such a verification?

[Answer] There were trials of older persons as well.

[Question] In the majority of trials young people were defendants, however. This is evidenced by easy to check data.

[Answer] You see, I can say to this that perhaps prosecutors were particularly interested in trying young people.

[Question] Even if we assume that your thesis is correct, do not you and your colleagues fear moral responsibility for the unfortunate experiences and difficult destiny of those 17- and 18-year olds who took to the streets, encouraged by leaflets? You did not take part in demonstrations.

[Answer] There is such a thing as collective responsibility and we have to solve those problems together now. Those young people about whom you are talking

have been helped in many ways. However, we did not call just for demonstrations but for peaceful behavior as well. For example, right before the visit of John Paul II there was peace.

[Question] Do you believe that the peace was a result of the society's acceptance of underground structures rather than of its real frame of mind, the conviction that street riots do not lead anywhere?

[Answer] I think that it is important that we called for peace and there was peace.

[Question] Another time, when the underground called for demonstrations, only a few thousand people came out on the Krakow streets. That was only a very small percentage of the city population.

[Answer] Just because only 5,000 or 7,000 persons came out on the streets does not mean that the remainder agreed in everything with the government and the authorities. Either they did not have the courage to come out or they thought that a demonstration may not be the best form for expressing their views.

[Question] But only facts count in politics.

[Answer] There are all kinds of facts. For example, it is a fact that wage increases took place after Solidarity could not act legally anymore.

[Question] Do you believe that the increases were unjustified?

[Answer] Yes, they were unjustified.

[Question] But earlier, after August, Solidarity pressed for wage increases. It pressed for across board increases. There was talk about "Walesa wages."

[Answer] However, the pressure was coupled with certain union commitments.

[Question] But there were strikes as well.

[Answer] If you want to pursue this line of questioning, I will not talk anymore.

At this point Wladyslaw Kardek got up. He was agitated, but a moment later calmed down and we continued the interview. He did not sit down again, however, because, as he said, he was in a hurry to meet his family. The interview lasted approximately another hour.

[Question] The time you spent in the underground gave you and your colleagues a chance of evaluating the period of Solidarity's legal activities. Did such an evaluation take place, and did you find any flaws in the organization's functioning?

[Answer] You know, many representatives of various communities, including scholars, evaluated the previous period of Solidarity's functioning. Opinions vary.

[Question] What is your opinion?

[Answer] Our main flaw was that we wanted to accomplish too much, the range of issues was tremendous, and there was not enough time to crystallize them. Note that our conference ended in September or even October, and in December there was already martial law.

[Question] Do you agree with the claim that at a certain point in time Solidarity stopped being a trade union and became a political organization, clearly an opposition organization in character?

[Answer] This depends on the interpretation.

[Question] And what is your interpretation?

[Answer] I think that political matters began to dominate many local conflicts over which we lost control. That is how one could claim that Solidarity became a political party, or rather an organization political in character. Actually, when talks started about the Committee for National Salvation [KON], it was a clear example of political action. As long as we believed that we were a controlling organization whose opinions counted, everything was all right. However, when the KON idea surfaced, the idea of participation in governing or of governing as such, our organization automatically changed its character.

[Question] Several publications, or rather leaflets, e.g., MONTINOWIEC of 18 August 1983 and AKTUALNOSCI published your statements and calls to a demonstration that are to take place on 31 August. Were they written and signed by you?

[Answer] No. I neither wrote or signed them.

[Question] You were one of the underground's leaders, so when your name appeared in a leaflet, it gave the leaflet a special rank.

[Answer] Yes, it did.

[Question] At the same time, this mimeograph press appropriated and continues to appropriate the idea of credibility, while denying it to others.

[Answer] This is an independent press, which has its own structures. Unfortunately, Solidarity has been needlessly represented, both during its legal functioning and afterwards, by all kinds of publications that presented their opinions as those of the union. This was and is ridiculous. I am not attacking persons working for those publications, but I must admit that there is much naivete and even stupidity there. On the other hand, those people want to accomplish something, and they look for ways to do it. Often they do more than necessary and harm both themselves and others.

[Question] Let us go back to the time when you were hiding. How does it feel when there is a warrant out for your arrest?

[Answer] It was like during World War II. People were in hiding at that time too. I thought that if they could do it, I can too.

[Question] Do you remember the war period?

[Answer] No.

[Question] ...

[Answer] But I read much about that period and identified with those people. There is, unquestionably, such a thing as emotional fatigue, but one can learn to live with it when necessary.

[Question] What made you come out of the underground?

[Answer] Many factors, much thought, and the need to come out of stagnation. Much time has passed. The decision to come out was not easy. The amnesty law speeded it up. I also realized that the course we followed was harmful, and it was senseless to continue conspiracy.

[Question] What can you say about 31 August since leaflets were distributed containing appeals directed mainly to steel workers from the Lenin Memorial Steel Mill, and signed with your name?

[Answer] I said already that I did not sign those appeals. I would not want anybody to get hurt on that day either, I do not want any scuffles to take place. I really do not want it. It would be senseless. It would not accomplish anything, but rather, it would only aggravate the situation. The underground's functioning is so flawed, it is simply harmful at this time. In August 1980 we did not engage in street fights. We were in plants, and we were organized and disciplined. I would like this to be the case this August as well.

[Question] What are your immediate plans?

[Answer] My personal plans?

[Question] No, professional.

[Answer] I would like to go back to work at the Lenin Memorial Steel Mill.

[Question] To your previous job?

[Answer] I do not know. This depends on the mill director.

[Question] Do you plan to go and talk to him?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] Your surfacing and subsequent appearance yesterday before the "T.V. Journal" cameras, as well as news in today's press evoked much interest and

gave rise to various comments and conjectures. Western radio stations and press will certainly devote much attention to you.

[Answer] I do not know about that.

✓ [Question] Do you fear the reaction of your colleagues, those who remained in the underground? Forgive me, but they could label you "a traitor," etc.?

[Answer] Yes, I do. I thought and still think about it.

[Question] And?

[Answer] Make sure to write that my coming out of the underground did not harm any of my colleagues who remained there.

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CSO: 2600/1305

## CRITICS RESPOND TO SCHAFF ARTICLE ON CRISIS OF MARXISTS

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 19, 11 May 83 p 8

[Responses of Jacek Tittenbrun, Wiktoria Dewitz and Wit Gawrak: "A Crisis of Not Just the Marxists"; cited article by Schaff published under the title "Scholar Views Socialist Revolutions as Non-Marxist" in JPRS 84097, No 2182 of this series, 11 Aug 83 pp 43-49]

[Text] /Professor Schaff's article, "A Crisis of Marxism, or Marxists?" (TU I TERAZ, No 11) contains--in addition to many assertions that are sound and in my opinion deserving of support (including the final conclusions on the practice of scientific Marxism)--many doubt-provoking ideas. These doubts are raised particularly by the method which the author uses to interpret the problem, the extent of which is described by the article's title/[in boldface].

Adam Schaff polemicizes with the viewpoints which regard the Polish crisis as a symptom of the crisis of Marxism, believing that they result from misunderstanding and lack of sufficient information, because Marx and Engels formulated the conditions indispensable for a successful socialist revolution, and these conditions were not fulfilled in the countries of "real socialism". This "original sin", caused by the fact that the revolutions did not occur at the time or place that they should have, means, according to Adam Schaff, that the instructions of the Marxism classicists have been violated, which in turn means that the difficulties experienced by this revolution cannot be attributed to this theory.

However, a thesis so formulated leaves certain basic problems unexplained. If this is the case, then what kind of political system is actually in effect in countries of this so-called real socialism? Is this socialism, or some kind of semi-socialism, or perhaps capitalism ("state"). Lack of answers to these questions assumes a lack of clarity on a fundamental issue: what does the author understand socialism to be, what, for him, are the basic criteria of "socialisticity"? The silent premise of Adam Schaff's conclusions seems to be that socialism in the countries of the so-called camp, if we can call it that, must have something added to it: "an imperfect socialism", or a "false socialism" --as distinct from "true socialism", or "ideal socialism", which the classicists of Marxism had in mind. Does not, however, in this way, the author of the article which contains a considerable amount of polemic stress on dogmatism and doctrinairism, himself take a position (which is an expression of a certain kind of dogmatism) that is based on thinking of socialism in terms of its differences from its standard model, a model constructed, more or less successfully, from the rejected, here and there, utterances and ideas of the classicists? In taking

such a position, one succumbs to an idealism: reality then ceases to be examined in view of itself, but it can be conceived only from the standpoint of degree of deviation from the ideal. It ceases to be a "real" reality at all, and becomes an "untrue", "falsified", etc., reality.

From the standpoint of Marxist historical materialism, however, the character of a given socioeconomic system, its "formational" belonging, cannot be determined by some kind of values, of which it is, or is not, a part. The determinant of socialism, just as of every other societal structure, is the type of ownership relations. Socialism is a political system based on public ownership, and all thoughts on the subject of the character, developmental difficulties, etc., of groups of societies described by this term must begin with that statement. Professor Schaff does not comply with that elementary condition, and thus all of his observations leave this question unanswered: Are the difficulties that our country is experiencing, in his opinion, the difficulties of a period of the building of socialism, or of something entirely different? It seems that behind Professor Schaff's reasoning, if I have read it reasonably correctly, are the often elsewhere encountered complaints against socialism that it was not born in perfect form, in the form in which one would like to see it, in which the classicists, etc., saw it, insofar as they could foresee anything at all. Meanwhile, socialism, just as every system, has its own contradictions, its own "good" and "bad" sides. This does not mean that I want in this way to somehow justify our present situation as the inevitable consequence of a specific stage or characteristic of socialism. Not at all. Conflicts can be solved, in various ways and with various results.

Along with this comment we come to another weak point in Adam Schaff's argumentation. He restricts the meaning of the thesis on the connection of Marxism with the present crisis to the initial, unfortunate "starting" moment. The capitalists and the large landowners, however, have been overthrown and a new reality has begun, regardless of what it may be called. And here the author totally omits the role of Marxism in the construction of this reality. Yet is this not a characteristic striking at the absence of historical materialism in political and socioeconomic practice, especially during the past Gierek period, which gave birth to the recent crisis? And how is this fact to be interpreted? It was not, in my opinion, the result of only the "anti-scientific" stance of the leadership at that time. Marxism, as it appeared in our country, simply was not able to supply scientific premises for the economic and social policies of that time. A long list of fields can be cited which were neglected by contemporary Marxism, and which were extremely important in the solving of practical problems in society's functioning. These are primarily the fields that are dependent upon obtaining knowledge about the economy and its relationship with other, non-economic structures of society.

The gaps in the studies of the economic structure and its role in Polish society did not occur through lack of interest or other similar reasons, but, most of all, they were the result of inadequacies in the area of theories, the underdevelopment of the conceptual and analytical apparatus necessary to practice such values of empirical research. The present state of materialistic-historical theories of means of production, production forces, ownership, etc., makes Marxist social sciences unprepared to assume the role of effective tools in everyday practice, planning and managing the economy and society as a whole.



In spite of Professor Schaff, however, I maintain that in Poland we are dealing not only with a "crisis of Marxists" (especially if it is reduced, as the author has done, to personal conversion, or someone leaving the party and Marxism), but with a crisis of Marxism itself. That is why all proposals, using Professor Schaff's words, for the "rebuilding of the prestige of Marxism as a theory and as an ideology" must be based on some kind of "report on the state of Marxism". It would be the task of this report to identify especially neglected research areas, and thus recognize past weaknesses. Remembering various initiatives of similar nature and purpose, I am, however, rather skeptical that anything at all can be done in this way. The best way to obtain, in this form, a picture of the state of affairs in the spirit of "success propaganda" would be to entrust the execution of such a report to the representatives of this particular style of Marxist practice, with the results to be subjected to evaluation. And the premise for such a decision could be, regardless of the authors intentions, the definition of a Marxist as set forth in the article. Adam Schaff reduces the reply to the question: Whom do we call a Marxist?--to the psychological plane, to inner "internalization" of Marxism. Therefore, Professor Schaff's position makes it impossible to objectively, independently of his consciousness and declaration, establish his "Marxismity". And after all, it is a fact that just because someone subjectively identifies himself with Marxism does not mean that he must actually represent this theory in his research practice. Professor Schaff's definition confuses me somewhat. Could it be that in writing above on the crisis of Marxism I had in mind a theory that is not understood in the same way as Professor Schaff understands it? But even if that were so, the fault lies with the author who did not take care to define his own--and actually in his opinion--way of understanding Marxism.

Jacek Tittenbrun

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I am a graduate of the Marxism "kindergarten": before the war in the student movement and from Professor Czarnowski's lectures, later from the courses in Marxism for ZHP [Polish Scout Union] cadre during 1945-1948 and from the WUMLU [Evening University of Marxism-Leninism]. I consider myself to be a Marxist within Professor Schaff's definition on the internalization of Marxism fundamentals, as a theory which explains social phenomena and the scientific premises of real humanism.

In a period of philosophical options, the author of the article to which I am referring was for me the highest intellectual authority. During the times when our practical social life began to raise doubts and questions, of a theoretical nature also, Professor Schaff's book, "Marxism and the Human Individual", was for me a presage of vivifying development and a hope for the future.

I think that many Marxists (and I would like to continue to be one of them), of similar disposition and past, read the professor's recent articles with particular attention and intensity. This emboldens me to express the thoughts that this paper aroused.

This crisis has its origin in the attempts to ossify the doctrine effectively inhibiting the freedom of development of Marxist thought. This deprivation of Marxists' freedom of thought and the right to confront opinions (contrary to the very fundamentals of Marxism), (about which Professor Schaff himself wrote as being the sine

qua non condition for the future) halted the progress in the development of theory in Poland, in many cases cut it off from the achievements of modern science both in the area of the humanities (individual and social psychology, and based on these disciplines, contemporary sociology and anthropology) and in the natural sciences (genetics, physics, cybernetics).

As a result of this, despite the permanent fundamental values, Marxist thought (at least that which is available to us) today does not mirror many important problems of everyday life, and we Marxists also do not find answers to a number of questions and doubts relating to these problems.

This state of affairs, I believe, was and continues to be the source of the "Marxist crisis", a crisis, which in view of the situation in the international workers' movement probably cannot be restricted only to Poland. Here it is additionally intensified by reasons of a moral nature: we maintained the conviction--and there were premises in accepted theory for this--that a change in social relations will cause favorable changes in individual attitudes on an ever-wider scale. The natural guarantee of such changes were to be the principles and practices of the conduct of the communists. This did not happen, as we all know.

This second aspect of the Marxist crisis was not considered in the article. And after all, taking the structure of the human individual into account, it is precisely in this that we should see the cause, worthy of emphasizing, of the "deviations" from Marxism, including the denial of it. It is for this reason also that the pejorative term "renegation" seems to be lacking objectivism: it evaluates but does not explain events that are certainly extremely complex.

Wiktorja Dewitz

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In accordance with journalistic custom, I am asking that the following correction be published in TU I TERAZ:

Prof Adam Schaff's assertion in the article, "Crisis of Marxists, or Marxism?" (TU I TERAZ, No 11, 1983), that in my article, "Eurocommunism and Trotskyism" (ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 8 Mar 1982) I "subjected to doubt" that (as A. Schaff says) /"Marx and Engels as far back as the middle of the last century established rigorous conditions for the bringing about of a socialist revolution"/[in italics]. There is nothing in my article which would serve as a basis for this type of disinformation.

The article "Eurocommunism and Trotskyism", to reveal A. Schaff's argumentational manipulation more precisely, showed that /"he pretends not to know anything about the Communist Manifesto, at the conclusion of which the crucial prognosis of revolutionary victories in a situation of 'revolutionary dualism' is concretized expressis verbis"/[in italics]. A. Schaff realized that he was carefully restrained, and therefore only now admits in TU I TERAZ that Marx (Engels is ignored!) modified the earlier prognosis of a socialist revolution in the Communist Manifesto, simulated in one sentence of "German Ideology." Because he first said that /"For Marx, after all, it was a certainty, at least from the time this thesis was expressed in 'German Ideology' --he did not deviate from it to the end of his life--that the success of a socialist revolution is guaranteed only if it is also victorious throughout the whole world..."/[in italics]. ("Marxism and the October Revolution", KULTURA, No 46, 1967). It should be added that the mentioned one-sentence expression of the young

Marx of 1845 (not even a "Marxist" yet), contained in "German Ideology": /"Communism is empirically possible only as an action of ruling nations, achieved 'in one stroke' and at the same time, which assumes a universal development of production forces, and in connection with this, of human relations on a world scale"/[in italics], thanks to Schaff's treatment, grew, in the article contained in KULTURA (No 46, 1967), into "classical Marxist theory", which, in Schaff's opinion, Lenin was to have "questioned" (Ibid.).

Phrases such as "state of theoretical bewilderment", "severe Schaffitis from which he has been suffering a long time", "simply ignorance", "I have no patience with infants", are supposed to replace, in the columns of TU I TERAZ, substantive replies to the basic accusation directed at Schaff in the article "Eurocommunism and Trotskyism". The precise and important gist of this accusation is as follows: /"In 1955, Schaff, a zealous propagator of Marxist dialectics in the PZPR and educator of the cadres of party philosophers, makes, in the Polish Academy of Sciences' quarterly, a total attack on the fundamental ties of materialistic dialectics, presenting himself in the role of a 'proofreader of Marx's and Engel's great errors'. Only an ideological machination of this scale completes the extraordinary chain of Trotskyist-Eurocommunist manipulation of Marxist-Leninist ideology, and indirectly the fate of hundreds of millions of citizens of the socialist community, and not just their fate."/[in italics].

Those who are seriously interested in the serious problem should be referred to the article "The Metamorphosis of Adam Schaff or a Unique Way to Eliminate Marxism", published in PRAWO I, ZYCIE (No 22, 1968), after a sealed blockade, lasting several dozens of years, applied without reason in the party press organs.

My postulate, contained in this article, as it refers to the statement, /"Schaff's argumentation, used to conceal a central attack on the dialectics of materialism, is based on falsifying its genuine, elementary concepts, suggesting that 'anyone who can, should emphatically contest this assessment!"/[in italics], has not been questioned to this day.

Wit Gawrak

9295

CSO: 2600/1336

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES REPORTED

New Trade Union Developments

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 8 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Trade Union Movement Is Significant Social Force"]

[Text] Seven months ago, the new trade unions began their activity. Since that time, the trade union movement, being created from its foundations, has already become a significant social force. It is steadily growing in numbers. Three months after its beginning, there were 6,900 registered unions, with a total membership of approximately 1.5 million. Today, these figures have increased more than twofold. At the end of July there were already 16,700 trade unions, with a total membership of 3,100,000. These figures are changing daily as more and more people are joining the unions. In 90 percent of plants which are authorized to form trade unions, union organizations or initiative groups or else charter committees are active. Elections of officers have already been held in over 11,000 of the registered unions.

Of course, the growth rate of the trade union movement varies, as is the case with any process which occurs in a natural manner. In addition, the formation of the new unions is taking place during a sharp political struggle, often marked by attempts at boycott; it also requires overcoming not only bureaucratic obstacles, which are sometimes created by [plant] management, but also mistrust which is still felt by some employees.

Proof of the authenticity of this movement is its composition: 70-80 percent of members of trade unions are workers. People representing all the former currents of the union movement are participating in the reconstruction of unions.

Improving Working Conditions

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 10 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by Anatol Burtowski: "Thinking About Improving Working Conditions"]

[Text] When, during the last quarterly meeting of representatives of the Elblag Province political and administrative authorities with chairmen of plant trade unions, data concerning work safety and hygiene in the region were presented

by Piotr Migacz, director of Department of Labor and Social Affairs, I was convinced that the discussion would be dominated by these problems. However, it did not happen so.

It is true, union activists raised a number of problems of basic importance to most workers and made a number of important demands; however, insufficient attention was devoted to working conditions and particularly to work safety. And if, however, the matter was mentioned even parenthetically in one statement or another, it was in the form of a demand: the authorities must show profound concern for this matter, and persons who are guilty of negligence have to be severely punished. Naturally, it is the plant management that is guilty.

There is much truth in this. Indeed, even though enterprises are self-managing, [union] charter organs have much to say in this matter and can enforce the compliance of managers of enterprises and institutions with the duties of the latter in the area of work safety and hygiene. They not only can but should. The only problem is that neither the province governor nor any of the ministers are able to visit industrial plants every day and intervene on the spot. Nor will their corresponding services be able to do so.

Here much can be done by professional inspection institutions, as, for example, health inspection and, in particular, the apparatus of District Work Inspectorate [OIP]. But more than evident is the fact that what we need here is on-the-spot intervention, systematic preventive activity, continuing supervision of the protection of the conditions of the employees' work, health, and life, as well as elimination of already existing hazards and prevention of new ones. Everything depends on how this is regarded in an individual plant, on the management's sense of responsibility, on the effectiveness of social services, industrial health service, plant health and fire inspectors, the resourcefulness of organs of employee representation and of self-government, as well as of the trade unions.

Likewise, a lot depends on the social initiative of the work inspection service. Hence, precisely, the importance which a recent law gave to this inspection service, the latter being subordinated to the trade unions. Nevertheless, we actually still have not seen any practical effects of the implementation of this law, at least not everywhere. On the other hand, it is high time for it, because the situation in the area of work safety and health is--to put it mildly--disquieting. Therefore, employee organizations should focus their attention on these problems as soon as possible. I appreciate the fact that the new trade union movement is still struggling with many problems including organizational ones and that still not everywhere does it find appropriate conditions for its activity; just the same, matters pertaining to employees' work safety and health cannot be postponed. We have no lack of good examples in this area but, just the same, the general progress of this activity thus far has been simply inadequate.

At first glance, the situation does not seem to look too bad, because on the basis of statistical data we find that during recent years there were fewer work-related accidents in Elblag Province and that last year there were a total of 2690 such accidents. At the same time, we learn that many accidents were

serious or even fatal. Last year, 13 fatal accidents occurred. In addition, for many years now there has been an increase in the incidence of various profession-related diseases.

The situation is worst in many industrial plants, where nearly half of all the work-related accidents in the province have occurred. The second highest number of accidents has been recorded in agricultural plants, here, e.g., last year, more than 800 accidents occurred, including--which is most alarming--five fatal ones. The third highest number of accidents has occurred in construction enterprises, where, as a rule, work continues to be far from safe. In 1982, out of over 200 accidents in the construction industry, two proved fatal. And a month ago, public opinion was shocked by the news of a construction-related accident which had occurred during the construction of a school in the Elblag residential district of Zawada. The accident had killed one person on the spot and had seriously injured several workers.

Piotr Migacz: The main causes of work-related accidents are irregularities and disturbances which occur in the organization of work, disregard for work health and safety regulations, and bad mechanical condition of machinery and equipment. Inspections which were made last year discovered a huge number of various hazards which only through a lucky coincidence had not caused injuries. Many of these hazards result from negligence and from lack of proper supervision by management personnel in industrial plants. Proof of it is the great number of irregularities and infractions which were discovered by the District Work Inspectorate [OIP], as well as the 650 instances of hazards which were eliminated as a result of the inspectors' intervention. On the other hand, in as many as 310 cases, various work projects were stopped through a decision of the District Work Inspectorate [OIP].

Examples: In Class I Locomotive Works in Malbork, workers were forbidden to start diesel locomotive engines inside the shop because proper ventilation had not been provided there. On the other hand, in the Ship Equipment Plant in Elblag, an order to stop welding operations was issued because of the high concentration of factors which were harmful to health and because of hazards which could cause an explosion. As a result of these decisions, the management of that plant provided appropriate protection. In the Meat Plant in Elblag, the District Work Inspectorate prohibited 16 employees to work with refrigeration equipment because they did not have proper authorization for it.

P. Migacz adds: When examining the causes of the decisions in the form of orders which were issued by work inspectors, we need to say that--in general--we are dealing with such deficiencies as lack of protective devices on machinery and equipment, lack of effective ventilation, possibility of explosion, construction work hazards, operation of mechanical work equipment without the permission of technical supervisors, and often, truly deplorable condition of that equipment...

Quite a bit of light on the condition of work safety and hygiene in units which were established by the Elblag Province governor is shed by findings which result from inspections that were made there by some departments of the Provincial [Administration] Office [UW]. Here are a few examples. In the inspected 15 socialized units of agriculture, many instances were found of so-called chemical

application work being done by people who had not had current medical examinations. In a few places, defective safety valves were discovered on acetylene generators; in addition, equipment such as thermometers and pressure gages was found missing from central-heating boilers. It is simply inconceivable how such boilers could have been operated at all without such indeed basic indicators.

Previous infractions of work safety and health in the construction industry have been augmented by some new ones that perhaps result from objective causes; these include failure to provide work clothes and shoes and their very often poor quality. On the other hand, supervisors strangely fail to notice work safety hazards which have existed for many years. This is particularly true with regard to lack of protective barriers on construction projects and lack of protection on excavation work. Many persons work without protective helmets and without ropes. In addition, acetylene generators and welding equipment are often defective. In total, on over 100 construction projects and in 59 inspected bases and workshops, over 630 various irregularities were recently discovered in the area of work safety and hygiene.

Inspections discovered also many deficiencies in enterprises of municipal economy, in schools and other centers of learning and education, and even in... health service centers, in which there were 45 work-related accidents last year, involving primarily women. Also of concern is the fact that it is precisely in health service centers, particularly in the United Provincial Hospital in Elblag and in the Health Center [ZOZ] in Braniewo, quite a few incidences of profession-related diseases have been noted. Twenty-three such cases were recorded last year, 22 of them being virus liver hepatitis.

Summing up: there are many actions to consider and to initiate with the aim of improving the working conditions [in plants].

#### Trade Union Plus, Minus Factors

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 18 Aug 83 p 3

[Interview with Janusz Grzejek, Chairman of the Board of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union of Employees of Fanina Low Voltage Electrical Equipment Factory in Przemyśl: "Pluses and Minuses"]

[Text] [Question] When on 9 March of this year, we met each other in the Provincial Court during the registration of your union, you stated: "The extent of the implementation of our plans and intentions will depend on the energy, enthusiasm and perseverance of our union aktiv and, above all, on the strength of our membership. Today we are starting as an organization of over 80 persons." Five months have passed since then. How many are you now?

[Answer] At present we have 139 members, including 33 retirees. Thus, a large number of employees still do not belong to the union. What concerns me most is the fact that among the middle-level technical supervision personnel--master foremen and foremen--many still have not declared their intentions with regard to union membership. Where are examples for ordinary workers?



In addition--and I will say so openly--some party members still have not declared their willingness to participate in the activity of the union. What are they waiting for?

[Question] A note of disappointment is evident in these questions...

[Answer] Because this is the actual situation. I believed that at least half of [our plant's] workforce would become members of the union within a few months after the latter's registration. And, meanwhile, the waiting continues.

[Question] The waiting but also the close watching of the activities of the new union...

[Answer] We are also aware of this. We realize that the reserve toward the new union can be overcome not by empty words and promises but by hard facts.

[Question] Let us, then, proceed to hard facts, of the effects of your activity to date.

[Answer] One of our first tasks was to put in working order the plant rest facility in Krasice which had deteriorated greatly in recent years. This facility did not have a manager. Thanks to our intervention, the management took an interest in the forgotten campground on the banks of the San [River]. Krasice changed past all recognition; new equipment was installed in the cabins. Now the employees and their families can again utilize them. True, nobody can, in three months, make up for many years of neglect; but the situation is already much better than it was. Our intention is to bring the standards of our facility up to an acceptable level within two years.

[Question] Is the union's opinion considered also in other situations?

[Answer] No decisions of direct concern to the work force are made without an expression of opinion by the trade union. For example, recently we expressed our opinion about rules concerning special and export bonuses as well as wage raises, as proposed by the management.

[Question] And it did not just end with your saying yes?

[Answer] Indeed it did not. On our part, there were reservations, proposals, and suggestions as to corrections. For example, while considering the demands of employees of auxiliary departments, we suggested that deserving employees be promoted to a higher wage group rather than given larger bonuses. Our suggestion was accepted by the management.

[Question] Has anything interrupted your run of luck?

[Answer] For some time now, we have been trying to secure the necessary additional equipment for our plant cafeteria, because the work force has been complaining about the quality of the meals. In June, the management committed itself to taking care of this matter. Now it is August, and nothing has happened yet. This is a minus for us. Therefore we, as a union, have to insure compliance by management with its commitment.



[Question] What are your present plans and intentions?

[Answer] We have set ourselves two objectives for August and September. This will be an important test for our union. Our first objective is to improve job safety and health conditions. Our union commission has already made job inspections, and it has prepared a detailed report. We are placing this matter on the agenda of the August plenary meeting of the union's board, which will be attended by management representatives. We have specific proposals which deal with ways to improve this situation.

Next month we intend to make a serious effort to solve the [work force's] housing problem. Our Fanina plant has on file 60 applications from people who are waiting for apartments. Merely approving these applications will produce no results. We are planning to establish a small housing cooperative, and we hope that the management will help us.

We are also getting ready to elect a volunteer plant work inspector.

The more people get involved in union life, the more vigorous will be the activity of our union. The way is open to everyone.

[Article by Jerzy Draganik: "Unions and Self-Government"]

The ones who persuaded me to return to this topic were union activists of Rzeszow construction enterprises, who, while debating the form of a trade-related union federation, had devoted much attention precisely to this problem. In their statements there were, among other things, questions whether the competencies of the organs of the work force's self-government do not overlap with those of the union organization in many matters, which, in practice, could give rise to arguments; whether the manager of an enterprise would not be more concerned about good cooperation with the self-government than with the union, which could result in disregard of union prerogatives; and whether employee councils would consider the views of the union, these views often being possibly different from the council's position.

These questions cannot remain unanswered.

Self-government and trade unions are the two principal elements of the system of representation of work forces. However, each one of them implements its own, independent functions and tasks.

The principal task of the self-government is to be concerned about the proper functioning of an enterprise as an economic organization, while trade unions represent and defend the collective and individual interests of work forces. This has consistently been reflected in three basic laws: the law concerning state enterprises, the law concerning the self-government of the work force of a state enterprise, and the law concerning trade unions. Without being thoroughly familiar with these documents, it is not possible to answer the questions which have been asked, and all discussions are simply pointless.

Every member of the work force participates in the activity of the self-government. He has the right to participate in general meetings of the work force and to vote on resolutions; he has an active and a passive right to vote in elections to organs of the self-government.; he also can express his or her views in a referendum. Organs of the self-government (i.e., a general meeting of the work force, or a meeting of delegates, or an employee council) are at the same time organs of the enterprise, within whose scope they act; their resolutions, in accordance with the law, are binding on the manager, who is their executor. By participating in decisions which affect the enterprise's direction and methods of action, they assume responsibility for the proper utilization of the enterprise's assets and for the implementation of its economic tasks. At the same time, the scope of the authority of decisionmaking organs of the self-government has been sufficiently defined by the law; adoption of any resolutions which transcend this scope would be an infringement of the law which might generate conflicts and which, in extreme cases, might justify suspension of that organ's activity by the charter organ. For example, the prerogatives of decisionmaking employee councils do not envision those councils' right to pass resolutions affecting the system of compensation, wage regulations, and awards and bonuses. All these are included in the scope of the union's activity, and self-government activists must keep this fact in mind.

The situation of a trade union is different--despite the fact that its members are all employees of one enterprise and the union itself has a number of special prerogatives, the union does not participate directly in managing [the plant] and it is an organization which is independent of the enterprise and the latter's organs. Therefore, harmonious relationships between organs of the self-government and the union are of basic importance. For it is certain that often the position of union organizations on specific matters will differ from that of organs of the self-government. Of great importance, therefore, is the way in which they will try to reach a consensus, taking into consideration not only the general social interests of an enterprise but also the individual interests of the workforce.

Unions represent both collective and individual interests of their members and of the remaining members of the workforce, who approach them for help with various problems which result from employment. On the other hand, organs of the self-government should represent, first of all, the collective interests of the enterprise as a whole, without attending, in principle, to individual interests of employees. The correct distribution of these roles is to be favored by the principle that when resolutions by organs of the self-government or the manager's decisions concern matters within the competence of the unions, then these organs, before making any decisions, should make it possible for the unions to state their position--in conformity with the union statute and the labor code. Moreover, an opportunity has been created for concluding (still not properly appreciated) mutual cooperation agreements that should define problems which are of interest to both parties and should envision the prerogatives of each in decision-making. Union organs, as well as organs of the self-government, are able--statutory rights--to appoint joint groups or commissions in order to lay the groundwork for a common position or for a draft of decision on a specific matter.

Of course, the above remarks on the topic are far from being exhaustive. The self-government and the trade unions in a new form are just beginning to take their first steps, and they are concentrating their efforts mainly on the creation of organizational bases, the preparation of an aktiv and of programs of action. Only when the programs are implemented in practice, will we have had our first experience in the area of cooperation of social forces in an enterprise to the benefit of its operations, and in the area of solving problems which are related to the work and to the living conditions of the workforce.

[Article: "People's Problems: As Told by Tadeusz Turon, Chairman of the Independent, Self-Governing Union of Employees of the Tzeszow Office of Mail Transport"]

The membership of our union is steadily growing. At present it represents one-third of the entire work force, i.e., 150 employees.

During the several months that our union has been in existence, we have taken a stand on many different matters, such as wages (in individual cases), problems of everyday life, statutory benefits, and organizations of proper rest and recreation.

Through our efforts, we succeeded in arranging, in recent months, several attractive tours; we are assisted by the Turysta enterprise, which rents tour buses to us on convenient terms. Moreover, we have also intervened in more general matters; for example, we recently filed with the Krakow Division of Polish State Railroads [PKP] our complaints concerning defects at railroad crossings (uneven levels) which cause the destruction of [mail] transport equipment. We also pass judgment on documents which are forwarded by the Ministry of Transportation to us for consultation.

9577

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## GLOWCZYK DESCRIBES PZPR PROGRAM TO FOREIGN GUESTS

AU271626 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24/25 Sep 83 pp 1, 5

[Report by Jerzy Weder: "The Party's Program Is Its Strength"]

[Text] During the afternoon [date not given] Jan Glowczyk, candidate member of the Politburo and PZPR Central Committee secretary, met with the representatives of communist and workers's party bodies from 24 countries taking part in the TRYBUNA LUDU anniversary celebrations. Stanislaw Glen, deputy director of the PZPR Central Committee Press, Radio, and Television Department and Wieslaw Bek, chief editor of TRYBUNA LUDU, also took part in the meeting.

Glowczyk described Poland's current sociopolitical and economic problems, and referred to last year's meeting held on the same occasion with representatives of the press of fraternal parties. He outlined the main changes which have taken place in our country during this time. The consistent implementation of the program of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress brought noticeable progress in the process of normalization of the country's affairs and stabilization of the economy. The extent of the difficulties behind this process is evidenced by the fact that it is taking place during an economic crisis which still has not been overcome. At the same time Western economic restrictions on Poland have continued, as well as a bitter political struggle against opponents both at home and abroad. The party's strength is its constructive program which satisfies the vital interests of working people and the entire Polish nation. From the moment that martial law was imposed the party and the people's authorities believed their primary goal to be the creation of conditions necessary for its suspension and its later lifting.

The tactics used by Poland's socialist opponents who work on the principle which preaches "the worse it is in the country, the better it will be," are followed by very few in Poland. Its anti-Polish and antinational nature is all too obvious. The future of our country is linked with the constant rebuilding of the economy and the revival of democratic structures of sociopolitical affairs.

Glowczyk presented the current problems of the economy, stating that during the past 8 months we achieved an 8.5-percent production growth compared to the same time last year. However, there is still much to do. It was only a year ago that the continuous drop in industrial production dating back to 1980 was halted. The economy is still having difficulties while its negative effects are all coming to a head concerning matters related to the people's standard of living. One of the most important current tasks is still the consistent protection of the standard of living of the lowest income groups.

Glowczyk then presented the current situation concerning the revival of the trade unions, which now have about 3.3 million members. This is an important part of the normalization process, as well as part of the process of consolidating the power of the people in Poland.

We are following the road set out by the Ninth PZPR Congress, Glowczyk said. It is a road of struggle and accord, for we are not only fighting against our opponents, but we are also fighting for that part of society which, although it does not submit to the reasoning of the opponent, still fails to support the activities of the people's authorities energetically enough. Some favorable changes are taking place in certain circles regarding this matter. To a large degree, this is connected with the activeness of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] which is developing and whose principles are based on dialogue and accord with everyone who believes in the constitutional, political principles of our state and is ready to work in accordance with them.

Speaking of the current and past problems which Poland experienced in emerging from the crisis, Glowczyk pointed to the significance of the fraternal assistance which socialist countries, and especially the Soviet Union, will give our country.

The policy of economic restrictions and aggression through propaganda against Poland are part of the way in which the imperialists are aggravating the general international situation and organizing an anticommunist crusade. We are, he stated vitally interested, just as all other socialist countries, in exposing the real aims behind the new generation of missiles now being developed in the West, including the deployment of medium-range missiles in Western Europe. Because of the holocaust suffered by Poland during World War II, we have a particular moral right and duty to take an active part in the international movement for the defense of peace. These issues, he said, will be of great importance during the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of Poland's rebirth.

During the meeting, Glowczyk replied to the questions of foreign journalists present, among others concerning food economy, price policy, church-state relations, and consolidating the party's ties with the workers class.

CSO: 2600/33

DAILY RIDICULES REPORTS OF DISSIDENT WRITERS CAMP

AU251552 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Sep 83 p 7

[Commentary signed 'Lektor': "Yet Another Camp..."]

[Text] Somewhere near the outskirts of Warsaw there is apparently a penal camp for writers. The "free world," accustomed as it is to all kinds of revelations about Polish concentration camps, treated this recent WASHINGTON POST report with some tedium and quite unjustly!

The WASHINGTON POST assigned responsibility for this revelation to Andrzej Braun, a Warsaw writer. This, at least, is how the whole article on today's martyrdom of Polish writers sounded in the Voice of America's Sunday broadcast, which was read in an emotional voice by Mr Bogus Jerke (who was once expelled from the Warsaw State Higher School of Dramatics for his lack of talent).

For the WASHINGTON POST the only real Polish writers are those who are or will be imprisoned in the camp. And there they will stay since the union which protected them from the law concerning social parasites has ceased to exist. Now, when the union is no longer no one will protect them and the gates of the camp remain wide open. We should allow our imagination to wander, to visualize the parade ground at this camp where the martyrs of the day are assembled in the autumn chill which makes their teeth chatter. Today, in the view of the WASHINGTON POST reporter who wrote the article, they are the beloved and real writers of Poland, and their fate in the camps should touch the hearts of all Westerners who enjoy the comforts of their homes.

The above was an attempt at so-called derisive commentary to add to the tomfoolery of the Western media which is so concerned with Poland. It is quite clear that this is not journalism of the highest level, but it is difficult to find anything loftier in the kind of situation where the synonym for "our own report from Poland" is simply trash. One of our readers, Ms Beata R., writes to tell us, "do not argue with them because you will naturally have to stoop to their level." She has a point, but not entirely. The WASHINGTON POST revelations which were repeated in the press reviews of several dissident Polish-language radio stations simply insult the intelligence, but one must also admit that some of our listeners in Poland could believe them, especially if they want to.

It is for those, then, who want to believe these revelations that I will conclude with a few colorful details on the subject of the camp for writers. It is near Warsaw, is called Obory, and also has a branch in Zakopane. As the name itself indicates [literally]: the floor at Obory is strewn with manure and the writers must stand around on this manure. And so they stand. It would be difficult enough to find a more sophisticated kind of torture.

Whoever wants to do a diabolical service for the Warsaw regime should go to this Obory as soon as possible, photograph the camp and the litter, and send the negatives to any of the Western correspondents residing in Warsaw. In this way the amateur photographer will do a service to the truth and will also receive a reasonable fee. In greenbacks. This is amusing, they always pay for trash in greenbacks.

CSO: 2600/15

## PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL RIGHTS AMONG STATES

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE in Romanian May-Jun 83  
pp 254-261

[Article by Adrian Nastase: "Some Considerations on the Principle of States' Equality of Rights"]

[Text] 1. The basic principles and all of international law show a dynamic evolution, constantly enriching their content and adjusting to the sometimes contradictory changes in international relations while trying to affect those changes favorably.

The relationship between dynamism and stability is apparent both on the level of the basic principles and on that of the standards they represent. The very fact that the principles reflect the values and constants of the "datum" makes them eminently stable.

The dynamic aspect of this process is due to enrichment of the principles, which assimilate the new elements and perfect the mechanism for influencing international relations while permitting new interpretations in keeping with the revolutionary changes taking place in the world. (1)

Therefore the principle of equal rights, as well as the other basic principles, cannot be analyzed solely in the form in which it was codified in a given period. It must be analyzed in the light of its constant evolution and the present attributes it must have in view of the recent development of international law and international relations as a result of a whole historical process of formation with political, axiological and legal components.

At first the principle of states' equality merely meant their equality before international law, reflecting a limited conception in keeping with the evolutionary stage of international relations in previous centuries. But analysis of the evolution of the principle of equal rights indicates that this conception corresponded to a certain level of international organization and was subsequently integrated, on the basis of the evolution of international relations after World War I and especially after World War II, in a much broader conception, that of equality of rights, of which legal equality continued to be a component.



In view of the efforts to refine and enrich the content of the basic principles of international law, we think theoretical efforts are needed to examine the present content of the principle of states' equal rights. For that purpose, investigation of the principle of equal rights requires analysis on three major levels:

- a. The material level, determined by the states' area, population and economic and military capacity;
- b. The political level, as a general indication of the states' geographic, economic and military characteristics and determining their international political power, usually measured by their ability to share in and influence international decisions;
- c. The legal level, where the states are regarded as having equal rights and obligations on the basis of their sovereignty and regardless of their material situation and political power.

The trio of interconnections takes the following form: material equality (inequality) - political equality (inequality) - equality (inequality) of rights, with good and bad effects from one level to another. For example, the interdependence among these levels gives rise to a tendency to shift the political-material inequalities to the level of law and to legalize certain inequalities. The reverse tendency is to mitigate and eliminate the political and economic inequalities by strict application of the international legal principle of equal rights to international relations.

In this view international law is no longer just the result of a certain level of international relations but also a factor for influencing international relations and a requirement for democratizing them, especially in the present period.

A new international value has appeared on the international scene in the last 20 years alongside states' equal rights, namely the states' economic equality, as a result of equal opportunities. It is an attempt to correct what used to be considered an inevitable fact, namely the nation's economic inequality. (2) This new value is a major aim of the present period actually involving one objective and consequently one process, that of gradually equalizing the states economically or, in its negative form, reducing the economic inequalities among states.

This situation requires the principle of equal rights to be flexible enough in its application to international relations to permit the operation of some new legal mechanisms intended to accomplish what is generally called the "development strategy" and consequently favoring the nations' economic leveling with the resulting collective economic security as a factor for preserving international peace.

In view of these new requirements for international relations, as well as that of democratizing relations among states, we think the equal rights principle should be analyzed and defined chiefly in the light of the concept of "implementation" rather than that of "observance" because it has a pronounced "active" character under the present international circumstances and is accordingly associated with the requirements for the states' participation in international affairs in various ways.

We consider this an important transformation of the equal rights principle, a transformation that is translated into expansion of the principle of equality by establishing, among other aspects of it, the equality of the states' rights to participate in international affairs.

2. The principle of states' equal rights is to be analyzed in close connection with the principle of sovereignty, for equal rights are not only a corollary of sovereignty but also a supplement of it, as indicated in most works on international law.

The principle of sovereignty is particularly intended to protect the attributes pertaining to the very existence of the state, its territorial integrity, the inviolability of its frontiers, and its right to choose its own political and economic system.

The principle of equal rights concerns the terms for "exercising" sovereignty on the international level, and it is the measure of the "freedom" of the sovereign states. (3) In the terminology of private international law, it would be a "rule of conflict" of the sovereignties in question.

A primary consideration in connection with the principle of equality is its application not only to the states' rights but also to their obligations. (4) This opinion, confirmed as a matter of fact by recent international procedure, (5) reflects among other things the need of greater responsibility on the part of the states for solving the vital problems of mankind.

The question also arises of just what rights and obligations are covered by the principle of equality. In view of the diversity of treaty procedure, use of reservations in treaties, etc., it would be incorrect to conclude that all states have the same rights and obligations. And so as regards rights, we think the principle of sovereignty applies to the inherent rights of sovereignty (6) in particular and to the states' fundamental rights in general.

It is a question especially of the following fundamental rights: the right to existence, to sovereignty and independence, to self-determination, to peace and security, to development and progress, to territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers, to self-defense, to natural resources, to share in solution of international problems, to cooperation, to trade, to access to scientific and technical advances, to belong to international organizations, and to indiscriminating treatment. (7)

But the presentation of these rights can only be a listing, since the principle is constantly enriched, as we said, as new international values emerge and give rise to new fundamental rights. (8)

The basic obligations involved include, among others, observance of the states' individualities, observance of the states' sovereignty and independence, abstention from use or threat of force, territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers, peaceful settlement of disputes, noninterference in the affairs of other states, observance of permanent sovereignty over natural resources, promotion of all peoples' economic and social progress, consolidation of international peace and security, disarmament, abstention from propaganda in favor of war,

abolition of colonialism and neocolonialism, observance of human rights and the fundamental freedoms, abolition of racial discrimination, development of international collaboration, environmental protection and preservation, observance of other states' rights and interests, and fulfillment in good faith of the assumed obligations. (9)

But the principle of states' equal rights does not apply to the fundamental rights and obligations alone, but also to the other categories of rights and obligations that the states acquire through bilateral and multilateral treaties.

But the rules of nondiscrimination and reciprocity are especially important in these situations, as expressions of equality of rights and obligations that are intended to do away with the situations where legal privileges and and injustices would be created by means of bilateral and multilateral treaties.

Consequently the principle of equal rights operates more as a protective factor in the case of rights and obligations acquired by means other than general international law. (10)

In view of the foregoing, we feel that the states' equal rights is the basic principle of international law whereby all states have the same fundamental rights and obligations regardless of the geographic or political factors, just as it follows from general international law that their treaty relations must be based in general (11) upon equal treatment characterized by nondiscrimination and reciprocity. We wish to mention once more that states' equality of rights is broader than equality before international law, which is of a formal, procedural nature.

At the present time it is a relatively simple matter to determine the field of application of the principle of states' equal rights. This statement is based upon its universal character as a basic principle of international law applying as such to all sovereign states, especially since equality is a corollary of sovereignty. But in the course of time it was attempted to theorize some discrimination in the actual application of equality in the effort to justify exclusion of some small and medium states from the benefit of certain rights on various grounds.

Among those pretexts we note the geographic and moral factors (12), the population, membership in the civilized nations (13), the social and economic importance of the states (14), and the tasks arising in the preservation of international peace. (15)

It was maintained on this basis that the states' legal equality entailed only "equal participation in creating and regulating international institutions but not in their operation." (16)

In connection with the field of application of the principle of equality the question arises whether peoples as well as states enjoy equal rights. (17)

We regard the principle of states' equal rights and that of peoples' equal rights as two distinct but complementary principles. They differ in that the former involves a much wider range of basic rights (especially those "inherent

in sovereignty\*), while the latter is more limited, referring to the rights to self-determination and to natural resources and mainly emphasizing the equality of all peoples in achieving independence and consequently the formation of a national state. In view of recent developments and as a reflection of the recent massive popular actions in various countries, peoples' equality of rights also involves their right to peace as an ontological and sociological basis of states' right to peace. However the respective state would have been automatically governed by the principle of states' equal rights from the time it was established. This illustrates the complementary nature of the two principles, which accordingly operate in succession.

3. Equality is usually analyzed in the technical literature from the standpoint of certain ideas and doctrines about states' equality. The doctrine of states' material equality was formulated in this way (especially under the influence of ideas about natural law), as well as the doctrine of states' legal equality and the doctrine of absolute or functional equality.

But aside from the doctrine of legal equality, which was originally formulated only for a limited application in connection with the states' formally equal position in regard to international jurisdictions, these doctrines are primarily political treatments of the states' equality, or analyses of their political status in their reciprocal relations and in the international organizations. No one of them covers the states' equality of rights except as a consequence at best.

Therefore studies of states' equal rights must be continued in order to bring out the state of codification on this subject, the requirements for application of the principle, its relationship to the other basic principles of contemporary international law, and its main components and fields of application.

We shall briefly discuss below the main elements of states' equal rights, elements that determine their content and bring out their relationship to the other basic principles.

a. Equality of the states' legal capacity is their general equal competence, based on their sovereignty, to obtain their rights and to assume their obligations.

b. Equality of legal status means the states' equality as regards rights and obligations that were not obtained or assumed through treaties but follow automatically and equally from general international law. By the same token, no state can be under the jurisdiction of any foreign court. It and its property on foreign territory are immune from jurisdiction.

c. Equality in exercise of rights and fulfillment of obligations: Implementation of the equal rights principle must not lead to discrimination or privileged situations for some states to the detriment of others.

d. Equal observance of the rights inherent in other states' sovereignty: The rights directly flowing from states' sovereignty are primarily intended to be exercised or observed equally.

e. Equal participation in solution of the contemporary world's major problems: In view of the scope of the international problems, all states' participation in their solution regardless of size or social system must be secured.

f. Equal consultation in drafting international law: It follows as a consequence that no standard of international law can be imposed upon any state against its will. But this measure does not apply to the rules of *jus cogens*.

g. Equal participation in international conferences of general interest: This means there can be no discrimination as to invitations to such conferences, their procedure or the method of approving the decisions.

h. Equal participation in founding worldwide international organizations and in their activity and decision-making process: Equality in this respect involves the procedure for admission, the way the member states are represented in the organization's structures, decision-making procedures etc.

i. Equality in acceptance of peaceful means of settling international disputes and equality before the judicial and arbitration courts. To this end, no means of peaceful solution can be imposed upon any state against its will. All states have an equal right to determine the best ways of settling any dispute in which they are involved.

j. Equality of opinion on *de facto* and *de jure* situations that concern them: In the case of a given situation, the states form their own opinions and no state has the right to consider its opinion predominant over that of another state on the same situation. This consideration is important because a difference of opinion on this subject is an international difference and can be settled solely by common agreement upon a given solution.

4. Observance of the principle of states' equal rights is becoming more and more vital to international relations of all kinds. (18) If it is to be enforced, attempts must be abandoned to impose any particular political orientation on other states or to compel them to accept measures or regulations to their disadvantage.

Equal rights are incompatible with relations of dependence or subordination, interference in other states' internal or external affairs, hegemonism or paternalism, the policy of "spheres of influence," and unfair relationships. (19)

The bilateral documents concluded by Romania with other states make important statements in connection with a most emphatic statement of the values promoted to secure the equal rights principle. The said documents closely correlate full expression of this principle with the right of every state and every people to development and progress, to complete sovereignty over its natural resources, and to full access to scientific and technical advances.

It is accordingly apparent that in Romania's view equality of rights is to be integrated in a broader complex of new principles of international law which both guarantee its actual application and constitute in themselves developments of the idea of equality. (20)



In expressing these views, in 1975 Romania proposed a universal code of conduct establishing the states' basic rights and obligations, including fully equal rights of all states regardless of size, geographic position, developmental level, social system, and affiliation or nonaffiliation with military alliances (21).

#### FOOTNOTES

1. For details see V. Duculescu and A. Nastase, "Some Considerations on the Dialectics of Continuity and Discontinuity in the Process of Progressive Development of International Law," *REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE*, No 2, 1979, pp 215-230.
2. But equality in its various forms cannot be dissociated from other international values like equity and justice. See in this connection Al. Bolintineanu, "States' Equality of Rights As a First Requirement for Democratization of International Relations," in "Democratization of Relations Among States and the New International Order," Political Publishing House, Bucharest 1979, p 104.
3. In somewhat the same way, G. Schwarzenberger feels that "The states' equality is the corollary of the sovereign states' coexistence." ("International Law," Vol I, Stevens and Sons Ltd., London 1957, p 125).
4. It is not a matter of the principle *pacta sunt servanda* but the fact that the states have equal obligations.
5. See for example the 1970 UN Declaration on the Principles of International Law or the Final Act of the CSCE.
6. Accordingly it can be concluded that sovereign equality is only a component of equality of rights.
7. For a full analysis of these rights, see N. Ecobescu and V. Duculescu, "States' Basic Rights and Obligations," Political Publishing House, Bucharest 1976, pp 34-79.
8. Equal rights would even require "An equal freedom in matters not regulated by international law." (G. Schwarzenberger, *op. cit.*, p 125).
9. For analysis of them see N. Ecobescu and V. Duculescu, *op. cit.* pp 80-147.
10. Ignoring the distinction between basic rights and the "conventional" rights acquired in the exercise of basic rights, G. Arangio-Ruiz in a recent work erroneously (in our opinion) concludes concerning the provisions on this subject of the UN Declaration on the Principles of International Law that the formulation that the states "have equal rights and obligations" should be "deleted because it is untrue *de lege lata* and ... impossible *de lege ferenda*." ("The UN Declaration on Friendly Relations and the System of Sources of International Law," *Sijthoff*, 1979, p 145)
11. An exception must be made for the economic relations between the developing and developed countries.

12. See G. Bry, "Precis elementaire de droit international public," Paris 1896, p 98.
13. See R. Foignet, "Manuel elementaire de droit international public," 12th ed., Paris 1923, p 185.
14. See L. Le Fur, "Precis de droit international public," Dalloz, Paris 1933, pp 245, 349.
15. See A. Favre, "Principes du droit des gens," Ed. Universitaires Fribourg Suisse, 1974, p 472.
16. P. Fauchille, op. cit., p 465.
17. Gh. Moca said, "The application of the principle of equality is not confined to states and interstate relations. On the contrary, it is broader and implies all peoples' equality of rights as an expression of their equal right to self-determination and independence." Gh. Moca, "Public International Law," Bucharest University, 1977, Vol I, p 171.
18. See also V. Duculescu, "States' Equal Rights," ERA SOCIALISTA, No 1, 1974.
19. Idem, doc. cit.
20. V. Duculescu and A. Nastase, op. cit., pp 226-227.
21. In a study made in the last few years the contents of five treaties of friendship and collaboration and of 34 joint declarations of Romania with other states in the 1972-1977 period were analyzed, revealing 31 rights and obligations specified in those texts. Then the frequency with which each one appears in the total number of texts was calculated, their order was determined on the basis of the frequencies obtained, and the result was compared with the draft code of conduct proposed to the United Nations by Romania. Accordingly, equality of rights appears with a frequency of 95 percent, or fifth in the order of frequencies for the 31 items (A. Nastase, "On Drafting a Universal Code of Conduct Establishing States' Fundamental Rights and Freedoms," REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE, No 3, 1978, pp 390-394.

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CSO: 2700/307

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA PRESIDENCY MEETS 28 SEPTEMBER

LD290224 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2015 GMT 28 Sep 83

[Text] Sarajevo, 28 Sep (TANJUG)--The state of organization and training of the militia in Bosnia-Hercegovina is at a satisfactory level. Great progress has been achieved in strengthening the cadre structure, in professional and ideopolitical education of militiamen and also in their technical equipment. This was concluded at today's session of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, at which a review was made of information on the state of organization, training and activity of the militia in the republic.

It is reported that militia organs successfully carry out tasks within their competence as established by the law on internal affairs and other relevant regulations. Full cooperation between the militia organs and other subjects in the system of social self-protection, especially direct cooperation with working people and citizens, has contributed to successful execution of tasks.

The Presidency ratified the decisions proposing specific measures which should help to strengthen organization further, and promote the training and more effective work on the part of militia organs. Support was given to proposals relating to improving the living and working conditions of members of the militia and attention was drawn in particular to the importance of more consistent implementation of the agreement securing funds for acquisition of income by work communities of internal affairs organs for militia workers.

Examining data on charges brought for violations of traffic safety, the Presidency assessed that traffic safety on the roads in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is still unsatisfactory. From the beginning of 1982 up to May 1983 more than 2,000 people lost their lives and over 28,000 were injured slightly or seriously in traffic accidents on the roads of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Presidency considers that broader social action must be set in motion to improve traffic safety. Activity should first and foremost be directed towards raising traffic education through school programs, the public information media, the activity of the traffic safety council, and through the work of social and



other organizations and institutions dealing with these problems. Emphasis was also laid on the importance of undertaking other preventive measures such as monitoring the roadworthiness of vehicles and maintaining roads, and of the need for enhanced responsibility on the part of individuals and organizations of associated labor dealing with these matters.

Attention was also drawn to the need for overall conditions to be created to eliminate the causes resulting in the low traffic safety standards, by means of more consistent application of legal regulations, standardizing penal policy and giving priority to settling cases of crimes and violations in this sphere.

CSO: 2800/11

YUGOSLAVIA

MONTENEGRIN ASSEMBLY SESSION VIEWS ECONOMY, SECURITY

LD290047 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1520 GMT 28 Sep 83

[Excerpts] Titograd, 28 Sep (TANJUG)--The delegates of all three chambers of the Montenegrin Assembly today gave their support to the plan for implementation of the long-term program of economic stabilization in the republic, the final version of which will be adopted by the republican executive council at one of the coming sessions.

Expounding the draft plan for implementing the long-term economic stabilization at a joint session of all chambers of the Montenegrin Assembly, Radoje Kontic, vice-president of the Executive Council, underlined that the most important task in implementing the economic stabilization policy is to enliven economic activity.

At a joint session of all three chambers, Slobodan Filipovic, republican secretary for internal affairs, briefed the delegates on the security situation in the republic.

The accumulated economic difficulties in the country, in addition to the exacerbation of international relations, which features intensified bloc confrontation, is also having an unfavorable effect upon the security situation in Montenegro, although this has not been essentially disturbed recently and is basically favorable--Filipovic underlined.

He pointed in particular to the close interdependence between the results achieved in implementing the economic stabilization measures and the politico-security situation, warning that a lack of effective measures to resolve problems such as dinar and currency liquidity, irregular payment of personal incomes and pensions, uncontrolled price increases, shortages and increasing unemployment and the like, could in the short term seriously disrupt the existing security-political situation.

Filipovic said that all structures of the internal enemy had in the recent period been operating with heightened intensity, but that in terms of the number of participants, methods and manifestations of hostile emergence, activities from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism and in support of Chetniks have been particularly prominent. He also cited heightened activity on the part of the hostile emigration--Albanian, Ustasha, Chetnik, Cominform, and also foreign intelligence services.

While evaluating the situation in the sphere of so-called public security as also satisfactory, Filipovic nevertheless stressed that a number of negative phenomena [word indistinct] perceptibly on the increase. These primarily involve economic crimes, which have shown a rise of more than a quarter in the first 8 months of this year compared with the same period last year.

CSO: 2800/11

SERBIAN LC COMMISSION ASSESSES LCY HISTORY DRAFT

LD292336 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1620 GMT 29 Sep 83

["Positive Assessment for the Fourth Book of the History of the LCY"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Sep (TANJUG)--The Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Commission for History today examined the draft text of the fourth book of the history of the LCY in the struggle for socialist social relations (the period from 1945 to 1980). The commission assessed it as a solid basis for the definitive form of the book, and as satisfying the requirements and demands for a newer and better review of the history of the LCY.

Unlike the previous three books, this fourth was given a positive assessment by the commission. Indeed, several compliments were paid to the text for its "coherence," "readability" and "objectivity."

In the exhaustive 4-hour discussion which followed the opening explanation by Stanislav Stojanovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Commission for History, a large number of comments and suggestions were put forward which were aimed primarily at supplementing and broadening the draft of the text.

Most of the global criticism in the debate, in which Dr Venceslav Glisic, Dr Koca Joncic, Dr Vicentije Djordjevic, Dr Jovan Dubovac, Ljubisa Stankov, Ida Sabo, Boza Jovanov, Dr Milica Damjanovic, Dr Cedomir Strbac, Dr Zivota Markovic and Branislav Joksovic took part, related to the intonation of this presentation of the postwar history of the LCY, which describes the party as being in "a constant spasm" and in almost "permanent crisis situations" in social development.

It was noted that for the sake of historical objectivity, correct proportional presentation must be found for the epochal successes achieved by the country under the leadership of the League of Communists in the postwar period.

The treatment of the national question attracted particular attention in the debate. Among other things, it was noted that the role of the historian is particularly important when it comes to the treatment of nationalities which, with the 1963 Constitution, ceased to be national minorities.

Several participants in the debate called for the full truth about 1948 events and it was pointed out that the comparison of our methods of defending the country with Stalinist methods is untenable.

Dr Dusan Bilandzic, on behalf of the team of specialists and the editorial committee of the LCY history project, expressed exceptionally high praise for the contribution the discussion made to work on the fourth book.

CSO: 2800/4

## YUGOSLAVIA

### DEVELOPING COUNTRIES MEETING ENDS, ISSUES REPORT

LD291056 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2240 GMT 28 Sep 83

[Text] Brioni, 28 Sep (TANJUG)--The developing countries' 11th roundtable meeting on the theme "Development, Economic Equality and Political Independence" finished its work on Brioni tonight by adopting a final report. Entitled "Brioni Report No 1," the document contains 15 paragraphs summing up the results of the all-embracing exchange of views among scientists and politicians from Yugoslavia, developing and developed countries and international organizations on the crisis that is gripping the world today and which is having a particularly negative effect on the nonaligned and developing countries' development goals and aspirations.

The report says that in the world today there are "concealed forms of dependence, which places the developing countries in a situation in which their political and economic independence is undermined and their freedom and ability to strive for their own development goals are seriously restricted." In such a situation the Brioni roundtable meeting emphasizes the "need to reaffirm the values which inspired the founders of the Nonaligned Movement" and says that doing so presupposes efforts to adopt effective measures aimed at developing the total potential of every developing country in order to increase their influence on the international scene. The report consequently stresses the need for organized effort to strengthen the role and effective [words indistinct] international monetary conference, because after their fruitful exchange of views it has become clear to all the participants that the "announced improvement in the economies of a number of countries could not be of a lasting nature and could not lead to changes in developing countries." [passage indistinct] They therefore demand a change in the role played by the International Monetary Fund, which has proved itself to be more of a defender of the private banking system than a source of assistance to developing countries.

One of the most frequently mentioned ways out of the crisis affecting the developing countries is the "promotion of the national and collective reliance on one's own resources" and the need to exert further efforts to establish a new international economic order, for which it is necessary to struggle hard through setting up a developing countries banking system, succeeding in making trade and other arrangements on the basis of the complementary nature of national economies, and even by relying on one's own national currencies. This, it was stated at the meeting, will call for "full mobilization and democratic participation of the population in all creative activities."

The meeting expressed the hope that the developing countries' institutions and scientists will strive to provide research papers on the causes of stagnation in the field of development and that they will coordinate work on the exchange of information in order to combine all their intellectual energies and bring about the [word indistinct] talks and radical changes needed for the establishment of the new international economic order. In this connection the participants in the Brioni meeting pinned their hopes on the further promotion of the activities of the Nonaligned Movement and the Group 77.

Approving a proposal by K.D. Lall, chairman of the Indian international economic relations in New Delhi, the meeting agreed that, in the spirit of recommendations made by the nonaligned summit in New Delhi, the historic Brioni islands--where the idea of nonalignment was born in 1956--should be used as the place for exchanging information among the nonaligned and as a center for the non-aligned countries' scientific and research institutions. The participants in the meeting also agreed that it is necessary to gradually develop a network of institutions for research into problems of interest to the Nonaligned Movement, a subject which seems certain to be discussed at the next meeting of the coordination bureau.

CSO: 2800/11

JOURNAL CITED ON BALKAN ATOM-FREE ZONE, RELATIONS

LD292016 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1304 GMT 29 Sep 83

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Sep (TANJUG)--The project to transform the Balkans into an atom-free zone must also include the idea that none of the partners should permit the stockpiling of conventional weapons nor permit the use of political force either on the part of the blocs or the member-countries of these military and political alliances.

The above-mentioned stand is reported in the latest issue of the Yugoslav fortnightly periodical MEDJUNARODNA POLITIKA, stressing that as a non-aligned country, the territory of Yugoslavia is already an atom-free zone in a region which is exposed to storms from the Levantine and the Middle East.

Yugoslavia is a country which has always accepted the idea of bilateral and multilateral gatherings, considers that extensive preparations for the proposed Balkan countries' summit should be carried out in order to ensure its successful outcome.

Bucharest and Sofia have joined the current action for an all-Balkan meeting in Athens. Romania has stressed the necessity for the holding of a Balkan summit, thus expanding the Greek proposal for the holding of a gathering of experts. Turkey, aware of its geo-strategic situation on the southern flank of the Atlantic defence, has always approached negotiations with Athens from a position of loyalty to the Atlantic alliance.

The only country to remain outside the range of the activities is Albania which shuts itself off from such initiatives which undoubtedly, regardless of the reality of the expected results to be obtained from the declaration of an atom-free zone, also contribute to the creation of an atmosphere of good-neighbourly relations and cooperation.

In conjunction with the development of political relations in the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean. MEDJUNARODNA POLITIKA writes that the absence of Albania from the action aimed at forming the widest and most constructive cooperation between the Balkan countries and peoples will neither postpone nor hinder the achievement of a solution if the good will of the remaining countries is demonstrated.



The Greek-Turkish conflict over the Aegean has not reflected on all-Balkan relations but it has contributed to the creation of the so-called 'syndrome of Balkan uncertainty.' This also comprises other open problems regarding inter-neighbourly relations such as the open question regarding relations between Yugoslav and Bulgaria or the avid attempts of Albania to create a greater Albania which do not affect the interests of Yugoslavia alone.

MEDJUNARODNA POLITIKA considers that such a situation very likely prompted a Turkish statesman regarding the declaration of the Balkans as an atom-free zone, to announce that an atom-free zone should be created which would encompass a somewhat more extensive region than the present geographical limits of the Balkans whose fate has always been linked to the war games of European or world powers.

CSO: 2800/11

REVISION OF DOCUMENT ON COMBAT STRATEGY UPHELD

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 5 Aug 83 pp 16-17

[Article by Colonel Major Manojlo Babic: "Combat Strategy; Are We Changing the Strategy or Revising and Modernizing It; What's In the New Basic Doctrine Document of the SFRY Armed Forces?"]

[Text] Our society has had an authentic concept of an all-people's defense [ONO] and a social self-defense [DSZ], an integral part of which is the Combat Strategy, for quite some time. Consequently, we are not concerned with changing the strategy but with revising it in the light of new knowledge obtained from military expertise and thinking in military science in general, from experiences acquired with the use of current solutions, and from changes in the military doctrines of foreign armies, especially those of potential aggressors. These introductory remarks are necessary because the appearance of the revised Combat Strategy as the basic doctrinaire document of the SFRY armed forces can be interpreted by ill-intentioned--above all by foreign circles so inclined--as a deviation from Tito's direction in the area of ONO and DSZ. For this reason it is well to emphasize that revision of the existing Combat Strategy was in full swing even when Tito was alive, and that even then, very important positions were taken regarding questions upon which the revision was based.

In discussing the purposes and functions of the Combat Strategy as a doctrinaire document, it should be emphasized that all other normative documents (rules, regulations, instructions, etc.) are based on this document, which is concerned with the problems of combat preparation and implementation as a totality; this means that the Combat Strategy as a document has not only an orienting function, but also a directive one. Its purpose exceeds the framework of the armed forces and includes all those organs and institutions, as well as individuals, which are involved in ONO and DSZ. With regard to its aim and function, the Combat Strategy is concerned with the problems of combat preparation and implementation as a totality, which means that the Combat Strategy as a document has not only an orienting function, but also a directive one. Its purpose exceeds the framework of the armed forces and includes all those organs and institutions, as well as individuals, which are involved in ONO and DSZ. With regard to its aim and function, the Combat Strategy is not concerned with problems of combat readiness and implementation in all its aspects and at all levels. Its theme is only that which is of general and

community significance, that which is in the domain of strategy. Thus, the dominant positions contained in the book deal with the causes and the forms of the application of force under contemporary conditions, with all-people's defense and social self-defense, with the organization and intentions of the armed forces, with the system of leadership and command, the factors, principles, and characteristics of combat, the preparation of society and the armed forces for conducting an armed struggle, and the manner in which combat action is to be carried out.

Some general positions and resolutions from the areas cited can only be mentioned briefly to the readers of FRONT; we cannot go into detail for the simple reason that the Strategy in its entirety is made up of general positions and resolutions and it would require too much space to squeeze them all into one article. But, in spite of this, we will pick out a few positions which we feel are of special interest to the readers of FRONT and to the public.

Above all, the fact should be noted that in today's world the great powers demonstrate their policies from a position of strength in practically all areas of international relations. The most direct demonstration of this type of policy is manifested in the form of the special limited war, military intervention, with war as the most drastic form of confrontation. In the Combat Strategy, limited war is seen as a covert form of aggression which can serve as a direct prelude to armed aggression in some international situations. It is primarily directed at the nonaligned and independent countries, the national liberation and revolutionary movements, in order to further their internal destabilization and to bring them into a state of dependency, but it is also present in relations between the great powers and within the blocks. The limited war directs the forces of both the foreign and the domestic enemy, most often in a synchronized manner in the course of a longer time frame, with the use of different methods and activities. Because of what is, in essence, its subversive nature, the limited war is viewed as being especially dangerous for countries in which there are acute economic, social, ethnic, national, and other social problems, or for countries which are confronted with difficulties in their development and in the implementation of independent domestic and foreign policy, all the more so if they are located in a sensitive and strategic geographic position. Military intervention is also considered to be a form of aggression, in which one or more states directly engages parts of its armies on the territory of another state in order to overturn or prop up an existing political and social-economic system, or to carry out certain intentions. The specific characteristic of military intervention is seen in the fact that the armed conflict does not take place on a broad scale, and that it lasts a relatively short time; but when things go unfavorably for the aggressor, as a rule it turns into a long-term liberation war carried out by the victims of the aggression against the interventionists. The aggressors justify military interventions by ideological, economic, military-strategic, ethnic, and other "reasons," but this does not change their essence, because it is always a matter of a form of aggression; for this reason, the SFRY evaluates every military intervention in this way exclusively, and treats them as such in practical international relationships. War has a central place in the Combat Strategy, which is understandable. In appraising the concepts of the modern era, it proceeds from known Marxist positions. As far as classification is

concerned, it uses three basic criteria: the social character and the desired goals which are to be achieved, the size of the area which has been seized, and the character of the war. Proceeding from this premise, wars are divided into those of conquest, defense, and national liberation, and with respect to the area involved, into local, regional, and world-wide. Concerning the use of military armaments, wars are classified into either conventional or nuclear.

The positions regarding the all-people's defense and the social self-defense are part of some relatively new material in the Combat Strategy. They contain our basic positions and resolutions from the ONO and DSZ Concept which are already familiar. The inclusion of this material in the Combat Strategy satisfies current practical needs until the ONO and DSZ Strategy (all-people's defense war [ONOR]) is crystallized, defined, and put into the form of a document. By its nature, this Strategy is to be a document of a higher order of generality as compared to the Combat Strategy.

The Combat Strategy emphasizes unity of leadership and command at all levels of leadership and command, from strategic to tactical in all of Yugoslavia. Any sort of localism in a war is inadmissible. As far as our resolutions are concerned, which are interwoven in the revised Combat Strategy, they are neither new nor unfamiliar, but are presented for the most part in order to supplement, elucidate, and define positions more precisely. Thus, it is generally known that Yugoslavia has prepared exclusively for its own defense and protection, and that in this way it does not threaten anyone, and that therefore, an exclusively defensive war would be fought which would have a class-oriented, progressive, and revolutionary character. Protection and defense in our country are the inalienable right and responsibility of all working people and citizens of the country, and all members of the society from which comes its common social and national character.

The strength of our defense is not in X number of arms and rockets, but in the people. Thus, the deciding factor of our defense is the individual--the human factor--meaning all the vital characteristics and advantages he has which result from any superior traits, from high moral and political consciousness, from suitable training and organization, etc. This does not mean that we neglect the material and technical factor. On the contrary, we possess first-class armament, but our historical experience teaches us that this is not primary.

We will oppose every armed aggression in our country with ONOR, in which all human and material forces, as well as the spiritual might of the society, will be engaged, and the armed forces will join with unarmed forms of combat and the all-people's resistance. We consider combat to be the decisive form of opposition to any armed aggression. Armed combat, all other forms of combat, and the all-people's resistance would be carried out on the entire Yugoslav theater of operations, which would be taken over by military actions, and this would be in effect continuously if a long-term war was necessary.

The most important characteristics of the Combat Strategy are the following:

-- The mass participation of the population and all other members of ONO and DSZ in combat preparation and implementation. The armed forces bear the biggest burden in combat, but all members of society are included in it both directly and indirectly. Combat would be carried out on the front, on temporarily occupied territory, and on our own rear lines. The entire area of Yugoslavia is the sole constant factor in the operational basis of our armed forces and each part taken separately.

-- Combat in the Yugoslav theater of operations would be conducted continuously until the complete breakdown of the aggressive action. This means that we need to prepare the armed forces and the whole society to conduct wars of different durations, including one with a long duration. The strategic focus of combat activity is determined by the defensive plan for every variant of aggression, including the possibility that during certain periods of the war, in accordance with the military-strategic situation, the focus might be transferred from the front to a temporarily occupied area and vice-versa, and from one part of the theater of operations to the other.

-- Depending upon the military-strategic situation in our theater of operations and beyond, the frontal, the combined, and the partisan forms of armed combat would be used. The frontal form would be used at the beginning of an aggressive action with the goal of breaking it down and preventing a deep penetration in the theater of operations. The combined form would be used if the offensive power of the aggressor could not be broken down by the frontal form and if the aggressor's forces could not be thrown out of our territory because of clearly superior total power. The partisan form would be used only in an extremely unfavorable military-strategic situation. Combat action would be carried out in the frontal and the partisan form simultaneously, or one and the other would be combined with any of the other three forms of combat mentioned.

-- In the tactical, operative, and strategic areas, attack is the decisive form of combat activity. We especially stress the importance of attack in combat activities in temporarily occupied territory, as well as in the rear lines in the struggle against the aggressor. This position does not negate, but signifies, the importance and necessity of an active defense as a form of combat activity, including all manifestations of it. The PVO, POB, PDB, PO, and PEB will be the major components of armed combat. From these perceptions we proceed to the construction, outfitting, and training of our armed forces. In a combat action, very different activities are carried out, but these must be coordinated in a synchronized manner in the tactical, operative, and strategic frameworks. This demands the harmonious development of forms, branches, and offices, and the inevitable integration of branches into the lowest level of organization possible. This is something which must be done--we are beginning to structure the OS's as a whole, and into their parts, and are working on plans for the development of our OS's.

These doctrinaire resolutions in the area of combat strategy have an even more profound benefit within our society. We proceed from them in the construction of our military expertise. Of course, they must be further elaborated, enriched, and consistently carried out in both theory and practice.

## FORMER CROATIAN LEADER WRITES LETTER TO EDITOR

[Editorial Report] A letter published (on page 43) in the 6 September 1983 issue of the Zagreb weekly DANAS by Savka Dabcevic-Kucar, former president of the Croatian LC Central Committee during the period "national euphoria" in Croatia, protests DANAS's inclusion of a picture of one of her books (partially visible) along with other so-called "propaganda material" as well as detonating devices apparently confiscated from a group of nationalists in Jastrebarsko Opstina who were arrested in the spring of this year and earlier (DANAS 19 July 1983, page 25). She notes that the picture shows three crown notes and a book with part of her name appearing on it but not the title. "This," she points out, "is a book titled 'Keynes,'" her doctoral dissertation and a purely scientific work published in Zagreb in 1957. "Even a layman could be convinced from looking at the contents that it is a narrowly specialized economic subject" which could not under any conditions be categorized as "propaganda material." "I will not ask who transformed this obviously specialized theoretical book into 'propaganda material,' or why, but I await at least a partial correction of this gross piece of disinformation."

In regard to the 19 July article, it describes the failed attempts of the above group to blow up a power line and a monument in Jastrebarsko Opstina and the writing of slogans such as "Socialism--the Grave of Liberal Intellectuals" at the Zagreb Economic Faculty and "Long Live April 10th" on a village church. However, the article said that the six or seven members of this group "had no contacts with Ustashe emigres abroad" even though their ideas were similar.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### BRIEFS

IKONIC IN SOFIA--Sofia, 27 Sep (TANJUG)--Branislav Ikonic, president of the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, arrived in Sofia today at the invitation of the Bulgarian Government. At the border crossing Branislav Ikonic and the members of the delegation were welcomed by Belcho Belchev, minister of finance of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and chairman of the Bulgarian part of the mixed Yugoslav-Bulgarian committee for economic and scientific-technical cooperation. Danilo Puric, Yugoslav ambassador in Bulgaria, was also present. [Text] [LD280329 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1149 GMT 27 Sep 83 LD]

ITALIAN DRAGOSAVAC, PAJETTA MEET--Brioni, Sep 27 (TANJUG)--Presidency member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Dusan Dragosavac and member of the directorate and Secretariat of the Communist Party of Italy [CPI] Central Committee Giancarlo Pajetta today (Tuesday) favourably assessed the development of cooperation between the LCY and the CPI and underlined the significance of cooperation between the two parties for the promotion of Yugoslav-Italian good-neighbourly relations. Giancarlo Pajetta arrived in Brioni, Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, to take part in an international round table conference on problems of economic equality, political independence and development. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1640 GMT 27 Sep 83 LD]

IRAQI ENVOY--Belgrade, 29 Sep (TANJUG)--Vidoje Zarkovic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, today received the credentials from the newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Iraq to the SFRY, Mamduh Abdul-Hamid [name as received]. After this, Vice President Zarkovic retained Ambassador Abdul-Hamid in a friendly conversation. [Text] [LD292324 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1424 GMT 29 Sep 83]

MACEDONIAN BODY ON DEFENSE--Skopje, 26 Sep (TANJUG)--At its session today chaired by Blagoja Taleski the National Defense Council of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia was informed of the combined tactical exercise "Jedinstvo-83" which was held on the Macedonian Republic's territory. The council also discussed steps being taken for further development of education on all-people's defense and social self-protection in Kiril i Metodij University



in Skopje, and the functioning of the centers for all-people's defense training in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. In so doing, the council noted the significant progress in the work of the scientific teaching group for all-people's defense operating under the aegis of the Faculty of Philosophy. However, further efforts are required to resolve space and staffing problems so that the scientific and educational process can unfold even more successfully. The council also stressed that all opportunities and methods must be utilized in order to train our working people and citizens to carry out their tasks in case of war or other exceptional conditions. The draft law on all-people's defense was discussed as well. [Text] [LD262253 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1732 GMT 26 Sep 83]

MAMULA IN LJUBLJANA--Ljubljana, 29 Sep (TANJUG)--Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, arrived this afternoon on a 2-day visit to the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the Ljubljana army district. He is accompanied by Colonel General Dane Cuic, chairman of the Yugoslav People's Army Leagues of Communists Committee; Colonel General Milan Daljevic, Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic and Lieutenant Colonel General Pavel Suc. This evening, Admiral Branko Mamula met the political leadership of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, led by Viktor Avbelj, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, and Andrej Marinc, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia. They discussed the implementation of the new system and legal provisions concerning all-people's defense and social self-protection, as well as defense training, cadre problems, national service, production for the armed forces and the implementation of other topical defense tasks. During his visit, Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary for defense, will also visit the "Jozef Stefan" Institute in Ljubljana and the headquarters of the Ljubljana army district. [Text] [LD292306 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1833 GMT 29 Sep 83]

FORMER WEST BANK MAYORS--Belgrade, 25 Sep (TANJUG)--Fahd al-Qawasimi and Muhammad Milhim, former mayors of Hebron and Halhul on the occupied West Bank of Jordan, who were overthrown and expelled by the Israeli occupation authorities, arrived in Belgrade today at the invitation of the Permanent Conference of Yugoslav towns and communes. During their visit, al-Qawasimi and Milhim will have talks with officials of the LCY, SAWPY, the SFRY Assembly, the Permanent Conference of Yugoslav Towns and Communes, and other institutions. It is expected that the guests will also visit several communes. [Text] [AU261500 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 25 Sep 83]

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